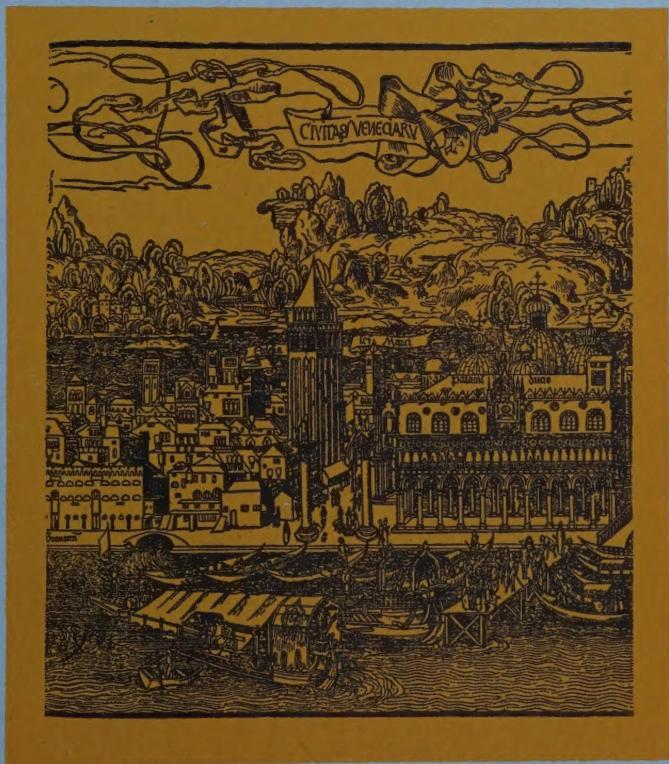


# GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

FEBRUARY 1943



## CONTENTS

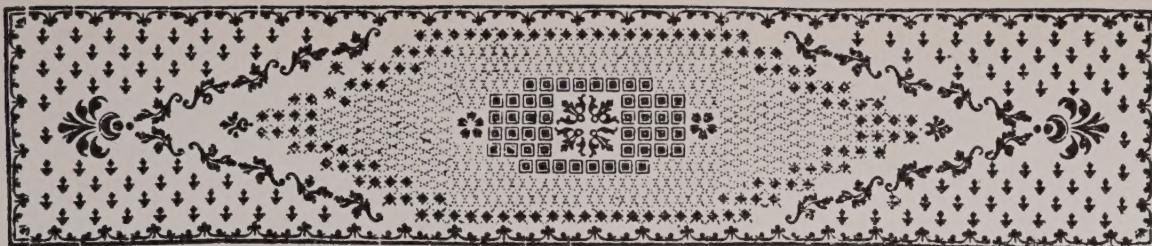
ST. PETER IN GANDHARA, BY BENJAMIN ROWLAND JR. ¶ THE FIND FROM KOPENY IN THE YENISEI VALLEY, BY ALFRED SALMONY. ¶ THE ARTIST OF THE 1486 VIEW OF VENICE, BY HANS TIETZE AND MRS. E. TIETZE-CONRAD. ¶ A NEW INTERPRETATION OF TITIAN'S *SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE*, BY RACHEL WISCHNITZER-BERNSTEIN. ¶ EUGENE DELACROIX AND LORD BYRON, BY GEORGE HEARD HAMILTON. ¶ RELIGIOUS AMULETS OF EARLY RUSSIAN CHRISTENDOM, BY EUGENE DE SAVITSCH. ¶ A RUBENS PROBLEM, BY J. LEROY DAVIDSON AND JULIUS S. HELD. ¶ A LITHOGRAPH BY PAUL CEZANNE: *THE SMALL BATHERS*, BY JEAN GORIANY. ¶ BIBLIOGRAPHY. ¶ REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

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# ST. PETER IN GANDHARA

## AN EARLY CHRISTIAN STATUETTE IN INDIA

**S**CHOLARS are familiar with the seeming blood-relationships, similarities of style that seem to exist between Early Christian art and the so-called Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra in northwestern India. An object has now appeared that points to an actual connection between Early Christian Rome and Northern India of the Graeco-Buddhist period. The importance of this work, both for Late Antique Art in the East and the West is such that it has seemed worth while to bring it to the attention of students of both Medieval and Indian Art.

In the course of a prolonged examination of the collection of photographs of Indian antiquities in the library of the India Office, I came across two photographs of a small bronze statuette of St. Peter, said to have been found in Chārsada in Northwest Frontier Province (figs. 1 and 2)<sup>1</sup>. Regrettably inquiries made in London and India have thrown no light on the present whereabouts of this interesting object. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, of the Archaeological Survey, very kindly undertook to trace the present whereabouts of the figure for me, but no information is available beyond the bare record of the fact that it was found at Chārsada and was brought in to be photographed. Of its genuineness there can be no question. The importance of this figure as a unique specimen of Early Christian sculpture found in India both for the art of Gandhāra and its even greater significance for the study of Early Christian antiquity will be the subject of this article.

<sup>1</sup>. Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, 1910-11, photos: Nos. 822 and 823.



FIG. 1. — ST. PETER. — Bronze statuette V century A.D. found in Charsada (whereabouts unknown) (side view)

GABROL AND LECLERCQ, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1914, p. 1862 (3010).

4. The type for Peter as an old man with short hair and beard had been evolved in Syria in the early centuries of the Christian Era. (See: W. ELLIGER, *Zur Entstehung und frühen Entwicklung der altchristlichen Bildkunst*, p. 107).

The figure is represented seated on a throne — now lost<sup>2</sup>; the saint is blessing in the Latin manner with his right hand; in his left, pressed against the chest, he holds what is unmistakably a key — the means of immediately identifying him as the chief of the apostles<sup>3</sup>. He wears the short beard that is part of the petrine iconography<sup>4</sup>. This image is a crude copy in miniature of the bronze statue that is the goal of the faithful at St. Peter's in Rome (fig. 3). In type and pose, the two are as alike as two works so different in scale could be: the drapery of the small figure lacks the complicated scheme of folds of its prototype: the main structure of the system is represented, however — notably in the

2. Some idea of the original appearance of the statuette may be had by comparison with an enthroned saint found at Strassburg: F. BEHN, *Frühchristliche Bronzestatuette aus Strassburg*, in: "Germania", 18, 1934, pl. 31.

3. The Key as attribute of St. Peter appears about 450 A.D. (See: G. DE JERPHANION, *Le Calice d'Antioche*, in: "Orientalia Christiana", VII, 27, Aug.-Sept., 1926, p. 100). A key similar to the one held by the Chārsada statuette may be seen in:

heavy loops in the skirt. The resemblance extends even to the broad border of the toga that supports the left hand of the figure in a sling<sup>5</sup>. This seemingly is a reversal of the pose reserved for the right hand of the Greek orator statue which survived in Late Antique art in the representations of Christ in the Psamatia sarcophagus, for the worthies on the grave reliefs of Palmyra<sup>6</sup>, and for many portrayals of Buddha in Gandhāra.

The authenticity of the small statue of the Father of the Church is confirmed by a comparison with other Early Christian bronzes in Berlin and elsewhere<sup>7</sup>. The

5. Cf. W. LOWRIE, *Monuments of the Early Church*, New York, 1903, fig. 119.

6. See: H. INGHOLT, *Studier over Palmyrenske skulptur*, Copenhagen, 1928, pl. II.

7. O. WULFF U. W. F. VOLBACH, *Die altchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Bildwerke, Staatliche Museen, Beschr. der Bildwerke der chr. Epochen*, III, 1, Berlin and Leipzig, 1923, pl. XXXIII, no. 717. Particularly in the treatment of the drapery, the St. Peter's statuette is not notably different in style from the small image at Strassburg: See BEHN, pl. 31, 1. There seems to me no possibility of this being a modern ex-voto of St. Peter that found its way to India in the XX century. The antiquity of the small figure proclaims

itself when compared with other bronze images of the Early Christian period — particularly in the imitation in metal of the drilled holes used to represent locks of hair in marble sculpture of these same centuries.



FIG. 2. — ST. PETER. — Bronze statuette V century A.D. found in Charsada (whereabouts unknown) (front view)

itself when compared with other bronze images of the Early Christian period — particularly in the imitation in metal of the drilled holes used to represent locks of hair in marble sculpture of these same centuries.

method of indicating the hair and beard by punched dots corresponds to the use of the drill in marble sculpture. The iconography of the image makes it highly unlikely that it was made locally, although Gandhāra bronzes are not unknown. In the days of faith when it was made statue in St. Peter's was renowned even in Asia Minor: one of the Syrian traders who conducted the revived Byzantine commerce with the East seems the most likely person to have introduced this icon to India.

The finding of this Early Christian statuette in the ruins of a Buddhist monastery in the shadow of Khyber Pass is no more unusual or more difficult to explain than the discovery at Taxila of a Ptolomaic statue of Harpocrates and the excavation all over northern India and Afganistan of steatite dishes of which similar examples have also been found in Egypt<sup>8</sup>; Roman lamps found their way even to Siam<sup>9</sup>. Although it is evident that the Roman trade that brought such objects to India ceased after the reign of Caracalla, there is reason to believe, in part on the basis of Byzantine coins found at Haddā, that it was revived by the Eastern Emperors: it was, as we shall see, in this period, that St. Peter must have found his way to Gandhāra.

The mounds of Chārsada, where the St. Peter was found, explored by the Archaeological Survey of India<sup>10</sup>, mark the site of the ancient Puskalāvati and, judging from the size of the ruin sites that we see today at Chārsada and Sari Dheri, mark one of the oldest and largest Buddhist foundations in northern India: there, in a previous birth, the Buddha plucked out his eyes; the great Emperor Asoka set up stupas to memorialize this sacrifice. An inscribed slab from Pathu Dheri records a dedication of the year 359 (209 A.D.); a statue with an inscribed base from Pālātu Dheri, a part of the complex, was set up in the year 384 (234 A.D.)<sup>11</sup>. The monasteries at Chārsada, together with the Buddhist civilization of northwestern India, were practically wiped out by the invasion of the White Huns in the V century. Doubtless, when Hsüan-tsang travelled down the road that now leads past Hastnagar and Sari Dheri, he saw very nearly the same scenes of desolation that we find today in the great ruin mounds beside the Kābul River<sup>12</sup>. Even that Wonder of the Eastern World, Kaniska's great tower at Peshawar, had been destroyed. The monasteries around Puskalāvati are described as "decayed". One would not look for the importation of an object like our St. Peter later than this: already there was a darkening in the West; the rising cloud of Islam blotted out the brilliance of the "Brother of

8. See: SIR JOHN MARSHALL, *A Guide to Taxila*, Calcutta, 1913, pl. XV, and SIR JOHN EVANS, *Some Vessels of Steatite from Egypt*, "London Society of Antiquaries, Proceedings", 28, XXIII, 1908, p. 89.

9. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Art and Archaeology*, Leiden, 1927, pl. VIII.

10. *Excavations at Chārsada*, in: "Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report", 1902-03.

11. See: B. ROWLAND, *A Revised chronology of Gandhāra sculpture*, in: "Art Bulletin", Sept., 1936.

12. S. BEAL, *Buddhist records of the Western World*, London (n.d.), I, p. 109: "To the north of the town is an old sangharama of which the halls are deserted and cold."

the Sun and Moon", Yezdegerd III; it closed forever the road to Byzantium and Rome.

The finding of the statuette of Peter at Chārsada comes as a welcome confirmation of Kosmas Indikopleustes' remarks anent the spread of Christianity in India. It will be remembered that in addition to his first hand experience of the Christian communities in Southern India, Kosmas had reports of the spread of the religion in Bactria and Persia as well<sup>13</sup>. Even before this, John, Bishop of Persia and Great India, attended the Council of Nicaea; in 424 the bishops of Herat and Merv were present at a council in Arabia<sup>14</sup>.

It is likely, however, that St. Peter found his way to Chārsada just before the Huns burst upon northern India, since it seems unlikely that either the statuette or its prototype in Rome were made just before the end of the V century; the statue in Rome is usually assigned to the VI century<sup>15</sup>.

Such parallels as the selection of the Greek orator type for the earliest anthropomorphic representations of Christ the Teacher and Buddha has often suggested that the relationship between Gandhāra and Early Christian art is one of cousinship. However, the stylistic resemblances between Gandhāra sculpture and the carvings of Palmyra and actual Early Christian work,



FIG. 3. — ST. PETER. — Bronze Statue V-VI Century A.D.  
St. Peters Basilica, Rome.

13. *Kosmas Indikopleustes*, Book III, p. 169. Earlier, in the period of Kaniska, communities of Jews and Christians were settled along the highway that led from Characene through Persis to the Kābul Valley.

14. J. KENNEDY, *The Secret of Kaniska*, JRAS, 1917, p. 241.

15. The marble statue of St. Peter in the Grotte Vaticane that so strongly resembles the two bronze figures has been attributed to the IV century.

combined now with this discovery of an actual Early Christian fragment in Gandhāra, brings up the possibility of a certain amount of direct influence as well. Such a connection had already been suggested by the finding of the motif of the Good Shepherd in Gandhāra art<sup>16</sup>.

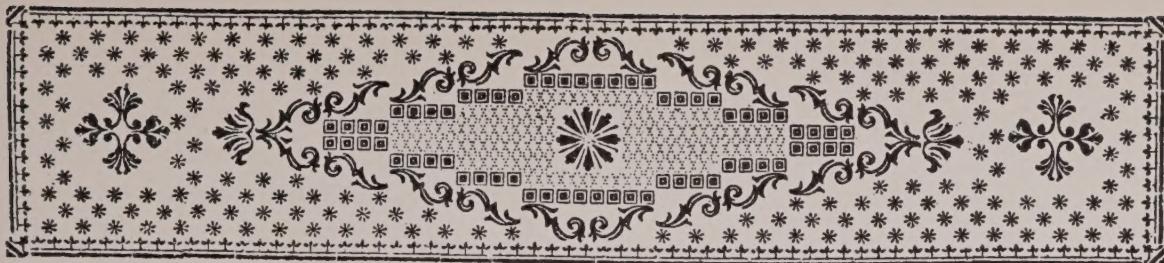
Of equal if not greater significance is the light that this statuette throws on the problem of the bronze effigy of the chief of the apostles in Rome<sup>17</sup>. The unquestionable authenticity of this image of St. Peter in India presupposes the prior existence of the famous original in Rome: by ways that we may never know, the little replica found its way to Chārsada from the hands of a pilgrim who bought it as a talisman at the portal of St. Peter's<sup>18</sup>.

BENJAMIN ROWLAND JR.

16. A. GRUNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, Berlin, 1900, fig. 44. The concept of the divine shepherd both in Early Christian and Gandhāra art may be a borrowing from Mithraism.

17. The varied opinions on this monument may be summarized as follows: (1) that it is an adaptation of the statue of the Capitoline Jove; (2) that it was made by Leo the Great (440-461 A.D.), at the repulse of Attila; (3) that the statue was made in the *bottega* of Arnolfo di Cambio in the XIII century; (4) it is a late medieval copy of a Roman senatorial statue; (5) it is related to Byzantine statues of the V and VI centuries A.D. (G. ZANETTI, *La statua bronzea di San Pietro in Vaticano*, in: "L'Illustrazione Vaticana", 1934, pp. 12-15). The first opinion has been answered by the obvious fact that head and keys are cast with the statue and could not have been later additions. (LOWRIE, p. 291.) The accusation that the cult image was made by Arnolfo is disproved by stylistic dissimilarities with known works by that master, by the fact that it is not signed, and, finally, by the mention by MAFFEO VEGIO (1406-1457), writing in the XV century, who calls it ancient; certainly this chronicler would have known if so famous a statue had been made by a compatriot not a hundred years earlier. Vegio says it was then in St. Martino, where it had been moved for safekeeping by the Pope. — In the letters of Gregory II to Leo the Isaurian (ca. 726) we learn that the people of Rome and the West thought of the statue as god on earth; only this image can be meant by the phrase "imaginem aeneam", which the iconoclast Leo wished to destroy. (J. WITTIG, *Die Geschichte der Petrus bronze in der Petruskirche in Rom*, in: "Romische Quartalschrift", 1913, I, p. 126. The importance of this notice for us is that it enables us to know the existence of the figure as early as the VIII century of our era. — The resemblance of the bronze St. Peter to the marble St. Hyppolitus of the Lateran is important. This statue was dedicated by the Empress Augusta Severa Octacilia (214-249 A.D.), a convert of St. Helena. — In a paliootto in the Pinacoteca at Siena a painted figure of Peter seems, in the classic drapery and the position of the hands and feet, to be copied from the famous statue in Rome, this panel is certainly no later than 1275 — and thereby earlier than Arnolfo, d. 1301-2. (E. CECCHI, *Trecentisti senesi*, Rome, 1928, pl. III.) — The statue is further more classic than any XIII century examples known. There is no stylistic comparison with such statues as the portrait of Charles of Anjou; nor is there any sign of gold so lavishly employed in XIII century work. The head of the figure may be compared with that of the great bronze of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline. Poor as the quality of casting is — poor in metal and full of holes — the style of the statue suggests that the classic tradition survived in metal long after the decay of the craftsmanship in stone. Furthermore, like certain classic bronzes, the St. Peter was cast to be seen only from the front and sides — the back being finished in plaster. — Finally, TOESCA (*L'Arte classica ed italiana*, p. 287, n. 14) describes the statue in Rome as imbued with "quei nuovi principi dell' arte ellenistico-orientale, (che) accertano una data non anteriore al secolo IV". It is my feeling that the statue in Rome was made in the V century and replica brought to India before the invasion of the Huns.

18. The making of small replicas of famous cult statues is suggested in the publication of the small figure of a saint found at Strassburg: Taf. 31 and p. 286.



# THE FIND FROM KOPENY IN THE YENISEI VALLEY

# A SIBERIAN GOLD TREASURE OF THE MIGRATION PERIOD

**D**URING the last century, archaeological investigation in Russia, as elsewhere, was all too frequently a matter of treasure hunting rather than a quest for knowledge of ancient civilizations. Today, field work in the Soviet Union is carried out by competent and trained excavators. Thus, to procure objects of material value and artistic importance has become only the welcome by-product of a general research plan. Since the outbreak of war, the already meager flow of information concerning results achieved and work still carried on in the Soviet Union has dwindled to a mere trickle. Most of it comes in summaries, published at regular intervals in different American and British periodicals by Henry Field and Eugene Prostov. Invaluable as such reports are, the lack of illustrations in most instances prevents comparison and appreciation.

For some time special attention has been paid to the ancient burial grounds of southern Siberia. Russian archaeologists started some pioneer work in this region even during the early Sixties. But they never accomplished anything which was com-

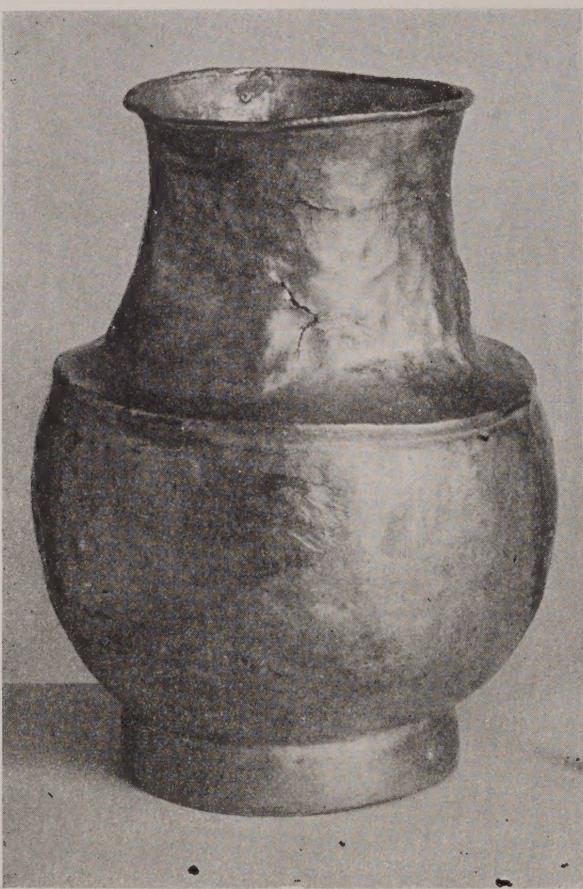


FIG. 1. — INSCRIBED VASE. — Gold. (Height 4½ inches.) Kopeny, Kurgan No. 2, Cache No. 1. — VII-VIII century.

warded from Moscow<sup>4</sup>. A second, more complete and more abundantly illustrated essay by this team of Russian scholars was published under the title "Tchaa-tas û Selo Kopeny"<sup>5</sup>.

"Tchaa-tas" is the name given by the native populations of the Khakass Repub-

1. Academia Nauk, S.S.R.

2. Namely: "Sovietskaia Arkhéologuia" (Soviet archaeology), "Vestnik Drevnei Istorii" with the subtitle: "Revue d'Histoire ancienne" and "Sbornik statei po arkhéologuji S.S.R.". (Yearbook of short articles on Soviet archaeology). The latter issued by the State Historical Museum in Moscow.

3. In: "Vestnik Drevnei Istorii", 1939, no. 4, under the title: *Otkritia Saiano-Altaiskoi arkhéologuitcheskoi ekspeditsii w 1939 g.*, with the subtitle: *Découvertes de l'expédition de Saian-Altaï en 1939*.

4. In: "American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature", vol. LVII, no. 3, July 1940, pp. 327 - 329.

5. In one of the recent issues of the "Sbornik statei po arkhéologuji S.S.R.". The present writer was fortunate enough to receive a reprint which, however, gives no indication of volume or date of publication. He then ventured to ask the State Historical Museum in Moscow for a selection of the most interesting photographs. The response was extremely generous, and the writer wishes to express his profound gratitude to the State Historical Museum of Moscow and to the transmitting agencies, namely the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C., and VOKS (The S.S.R. Society for Cultural relations with Foreign Countries) in Moscow and Kuibychev. By publishing these photographs, he seeks to enlarge upon the information previously given and also to bring another epoch making contribution of Russian archaeology to the attention of the American public.

parable, either in value of information or magnificence of objects, to such excavations as Noin Ula in northern Mongolia (season of 1924-25) and Pazyryk in the Altai mountains (season of 1929). Since 1936, the exploration of graves in the Saian and Altai mountains has been organized by the Institute for the History of Material Culture, incorporated in the Soviet Academy of Science<sup>1</sup> and entrusted to the staff of the State Historical Museum in Moscow. Expedition reports have been published from time to time in Russian periodicals devoted to archaeology<sup>2</sup>. In 1939, the Saian-Altai expedition excavated the site of Kopeny on the left bank of the Upper Yenisei, in the northern slopes of the Saian Mountains. L. Evtiukhova and S. Kiselev, jointly in charge of the project, gave a first report in 1939<sup>3</sup>. Henry Field and E. Prostov mentioned these diggings and gave descriptions based upon a resume for-

lic to ancient cemeteries. The one excavated at Kopeny covers two periods. The earlier graves belong to the Tashtyk civilization (II to the IV century A.D.). They add little to the knowledge which has been gathered for some time around the great archaeological centers of Minussinsk on the Upper Yenisei. The later group, however, is certain to become one of the cornerstones of the history of art in the Eurasian steppes. It covers the period from the VII to the IX century, when this region had fallen to the Kirghiz, the direct ancestors of its present inhabitants, the Khakass. Inscriptions incized into the bottom of two gold vases establish this date, because they use the runic letters of the Turkish alphabet. The Turks passed this on to nearly all the tribes of greater Siberia, and it was used extensively from perhaps 650 to about 950. Its deciphering resulted from the discovery in the Orkhon Valley of memorial monuments, bearing dedicatory texts in both Chinese and Turkish characters. The two Kopeny inscriptions cannot compare with the verbose epitaphs from the region of the Orkhon and Yenisei in so far as historic value is concerned. According to Evtiukhova and Kiselev, the readings on the first two reproductions we include are: "We gave silver to the Beg" (Beg being the title of a chieftain) (fig. 1) and "Gold... gift of Ach" (Ach meaning the people of an unidentified locality) (fig. 2).

The finds under discussion were from two large mounds or Kurgans, designated as no. 2 and no. 6. Each of these had two small caches, dug to hide valuable objects from the desecration of the inevitable grave robbers. The richest booty comes from Kurgan no. 2. Its cache no. 1 yielded a plain gilt silver tray of multi-lobed outline, supporting the two inscribed plain gold vases just mentioned (figs.



FIG. 2. — INSCRIBED VASE. — Gold. (Height 5½ inches.) Kopeny, Kurgan No. 2, Cache No. 1. — VII-VIII century.



FIG. 3. — VASE WITH RELIEF. — Gold. (Height 4-7/16 inhees.) Kopeny, Kurgan No. 2, Cache No. 1. — VII-VIII century.

1-2) and two decorated gold jugs (figs. 3-4). The smaller vase (fig. 1) stands on a short foot, and has a shallow globular body with strongly marked shoulder, a long, thick, neck and a slightly flaring mouth. It repeats a shape frequently adopted for metal vases of the Turkish period in the Minussirsk region. Smirnov's standard work reproduces no less than thirteen examples, made of silver<sup>6</sup>. The other vase (fig. 2) comes from a different parentage. Its completely globular body turns into the narrow neck without interruption. A flaring ring with two loops frames the mouth. The proportions are those of Chinese T'ang potteries<sup>7</sup>. The only difference lies in the position of the loops, usually placed much lower on potteries.

The jugs revert to the native shape (figs. 3-4). Both have ring handles with superimposed plaques at the place of attachment. This type of handle also belongs to the Minussinsk form repertory. It is found on plain jugs<sup>8</sup> and on almost any kind of small and medium-sized receptacle, not only in Siberia but in Eastern Europe and Scandinavia also. The smaller jug (fig. 3) sustains a stamped and engraved relief in three sections. Those of body and neck are separated by a rope band. The same combination of motives, namely scrolls of foliage and medallions filled with birds, has been adapted to the available space. The foot accommodates only a floral tendril, and the handle plate a pair of confronted birds. A small hook, projecting from the lower part of the handle, completes the object. Quite obviously, the proud bird of the medallions and handle plate, with its spread wings and its rolled up tail-feathers is China's ubiquitous "feng-huang", "usually miscalled

6. *Vostotchnoié Serebro, (l'Argenterie Orientale)*, St. Pétersburg, 1909, nos. 181-193.

7. See: R. L. HOBSON, *The Catalogue of the Eumorfopoulos Collection of Chinese, Korean and Persian Pottery and Porcelain*, London, 1925, vol. I, pl. LI, no. 382.

8. SMIRNOV, *op. cit.*, nos. 170 and 171.

phoenix"<sup>9</sup>. He holds a knotted ribbon in his beak, a device which T'ang art had adopted from Sasanian men and animals, most of which move about with some kind of a streamer fluttering behind. In connection with the "feng-huang" as with all other borrowed ornaments, the Chinese objects to which one could refer for comparison are so numerous that a limitation imposes itself. Anything fixed in time should be preferred. Fortunately, the contents of the Japanese Imperial Treasure at Nara, the Shosoin, fulfill this requirement ideally, because this collection closed its doors to practically all accessions in 756, the year of its dedication. Its location in Japan does not depreciate its value as representative of Chinese T'ang art, because at that time the island had not yet developed an artistic individuality. Among the many Shosoin pieces with "feng-huang" design, mirrors are most prominent, and some of them are very close to the one on the Kirghiz jug<sup>10</sup>. The highly stylized foliage with its three-leaved umbels is also of Chinese origin, as Strzygowski recognized long ago<sup>11</sup>.

The other jug (fig. 4) achieves a pleasantly contrasting effect by the small amount of relief placed against the smooth gold ground. Horizontal pearl-bands frame the foot, shoulder and mouth, while vertical ones, emerging from large knobs, subdivide each section into six fields. The vertical frames are flanked by borders,



FIG. 4. — VASE WITH RELIEF AND APPLIQUE. — Gold. (Height 5-3/16 inches.)  
Kopeny, Kurgan No. 2, Cache No. 1. — VII-VIII century.

9. ALAN PRIEST, *Phoenix in fact and fancy*, in: "Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art", October 1942.

10. See: TOVEI SHUKO, *An illustrated Catalogue of the Ancient Imperial Treasury called Shosoin*, vol. I, pl. 50.

11. See: J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Altai-Iran und die Völkerwanderung*, Leipzig, 1917, p. 124.

composed of intertwined tendrils with small cross-bands to tie up every volute. Reduced to a simple form, the same motive also appears in the center of the fields at the foot. The medallions on the body and neck force the geometric scroll into a heart-shape, surrounding a central volute which emerges from a crescent. The handle-plaque repeats the scroll with a sapphire as the center, set off by a pearl-band. In addition to the hook, observed before, the handle carries a small loop. Although the ornaments of this jug are further removed from Chinese models than those of its mate, the foliage gives sufficient proof of Far Eastern inspiration.

Kurgan no. 6 con-

tributes only an engraved dish to the gold furnishings of Kopeny (from Cache no. 2) (fig. 5). The shape is unconvincing, although scrolls and foliage at the border and in the circle around the four-lobed central flower are almost identical with those of fig. 3. Two confronted "feng-huang" birds fill each of the six interspersed medallions of heart-shape. They stand on lotus bases and hold lozenge bands in their beaks with flowers projecting from the upper and lower tips. The whole background is



FIG. 5. — ENGRAVED DISH. — Gold. (Diameter 7 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches.) Kopeny, Kurgan No. 6, Cache No. 2. — VII-VIII century.

closely stippled. The reference to Far Eastern models is the same as for fig. 3 so far as the birds are concerned. The central flower also figures on many textiles<sup>12</sup>. The stippled background is commonly used on T'ang silver. In consequence of so many Chinese connotations, it has been suggested that the gold dish was imported into Siberia. But since its ornaments occur on such a distinctly Siberian shape as that of fig. 3, there is no reason why the native craftsman could not have added the stippling to his other Chinese appropriations.

12. See: TOYEI SHUKO, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 81.



FIG. 6. — SADDLE APPLIQUES — Bronze. (Height of the hunter approx. 3".) Kopeny, Kurgan No. 6, Cache No. 1.



FIG. 7. — PENDANT ON HORSE TRAPPING. — Gilt bronze. (Height 2-15/16 inches.)  
Kopeny, Kurgan No. 6, Cache No. 2. — VII-VIII century.

horse shoots at a rearing lion, which he has passed (fig. 6). Behind, a cub raises himself to the same position. The fleeing game includes an ibex, doe and tiger in front and a boar underneath the man. Two clouds float above him, a badly crushed one takes place beneath the lion. A large applique at the base represents a mountain range. Its four crags slope sideward with each top expanding into a three-lobed formation. A small rock sloping in the opposite direction appears at the right.

In the set from Cache no. 2 (fig. 7) the number of lions and clouds are reduced to one of each and the tiger is lacking. Instead, the mountain is stretched into a wide arch, flanked by triparted side-screens of smaller size. The decoration of these bronze plaques reveals several sources of inspiration. The theme, a hunter in the midst of all kinds of game, has been a favorite one with the steppe people ever since Scythian times. The Turks of Siberia engraved hunting scenes on the mountain slopes of the Yenisei<sup>13</sup> and on bone plaques such as those found in the Altai,

The main contribution of Kurgan no. 6 consists of bronzes. Each of its two caches held two sets of flat plaques, all provided with holes along the edges, so that they could be sewn on each side of the saddle cloth. The one on which the horseman (fig. 6), is sitting would actually accommodate a considerable quantity of appliques. Although different in number and condition of individual plaques, and at variance as far as details are concerned, the four sets are identical in subject and composition. One of each pair is available for illustration. On that found in Cache no. 1 the rider of the galloping

13. See: H. APPELGREN-KIVALO, *Alt-Altaische Kunstdenkmäler*, Helsingfors, 1931, fig. 77.



FIG. 8.—SADDLE APPLIQUES.—Bronze. (Height of the hunter approx. 3".) Kopeny, Kurgan No. 6, Cache No. 2.—VII-VIII century.

as the Russian scholars have already pointed out<sup>14</sup>. Such engravings, however, never include the defiant lion. This motive seems to come directly from Sasanian silver plates<sup>15</sup>. Persia depicts only the ruler indulging in his favorite sport. But no attribute lifts the Kirghiz hunter into a domineering position. It is just a member of the local ruling class. The long tunic, encircled by a belt, the trousers tucked into high boots and the ribbon holding the floating hair — this whole attire belongs to the tradition of the steppes. The quiver hanging at the right (fig. 8) has the shape of a tapering funnel with flapping cover, characteristic of steppe monuments of the Turkish period. The steeds are of the heavy-bodied Mongolian breed. These enjoyed so much favor with the Chinese that they became the main subject for the stone tablets decorating the grave monument of the emperor T'ai Tsung, who died in 649<sup>16</sup>. Great care is bestowed on details of their trappings. One can easily recognize bridle and body-straps, the latter adorned with pendants. H. Field and G. Prostov expected these plaques to "shed new light on the so-called Siberian gold", collected by Peter the Great and now at the Hermitage Museum. They actually do so by removing one pair of belt-plaques from the Han date, commonly assigned to the whole collection. Each one represents the death of a warrior<sup>17</sup>. Although the subject and the human types differ from the Kopeny sets, the gold and the bronze plaques have enough in common to make them appear contemporaneous: the lack of inlay, the naturalistic modelling, the stylized rendering of



FIG. 9. — PENDANT FOR HORSE TRAPPING. — Bronze. (Height 2 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches.)  
Kopeny, Kurgan No. 6, Cache No. 1. — VII-VIII century.

14. See: S. RUDENKO and A. GLOUKHOV, *La nécropole de Koudyrgué dans l'Altai*, in: "Materiali po Etnografi", vol. III, part 2, Leningrad, 1927, p. 48.

15. Among many other examples, see: SMIRNOV, *op. cit.*, no. 61.

16. See: O. SIREN, *A history of early Chinese art*, London, 1930, vol. III, pl. 93.

17. See: N. KONDAKOV, J. TOLSTOI and S. REINACH, *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale*, Paris, 1891, p. 397, fig. 360.

scenery and the interest in details of the attire. For parallels to the landscape elements among the Kopeny plaques, one has to turn again to China. The three lobed cloud on a curving stem is one of the most frequent prerequisites of the T'ang repertory and can be found on many mirrors, including those of the Shosoin, referred to before. The conventionalized mountain with vegetation reduced to a three-lobed top invades even the Chinese landscape painting of the period<sup>18</sup>.

Since the bronze reliefs indicate that the horse-trappings were hung with many identical pendants, their actual preservation comes as no surprise. The Cache no. 2 of Kurgan no. 6 contributes thirteen casts, all of the same model and made of gilt bronze (fig. 7). Its heart-shape, so dear to the T'ang period, is complicated by six rolled up leaves on either side. The relief of the surface raises above a stippled ground. It repeats the outline of the object twice, once below the suspension loop and again in the center, hanging from a bulging pointed oval. Two galloping lions with wide opened mouths cover the sides. The writer has already dealt with the Chinese origin of this object and with its Siberian and East-European derivations at great length<sup>19</sup>.

While fig. 7 adds little to the well known repertory of these pendants, the thirteen bronze pieces from Cache no. 1 of the same Kurgan rank among the most informative objects with native decoration (fig. 9). On the lower part, the heart-shape is replaced by feline heads, with two in profile at the sides and the central one seen from above. All those permit the suspension of additional pendants by means of small loops below the mouths. The scroll work in low relief has been transformed into open work by pierced holes, mostly of circular shape. This schematic way of breaking up a surface and spreading a relief over a field occurs frequently on Ordos bronzes, for which the writer suggested a much contested T'ang or Sung date<sup>20</sup>. By introducing the process of dissolution in a relatively early stage, Kopeny relegates the Ordos plaques with circular open work into a period following the VIII century.

Kopeny shows the art of the Yenisei Kirghiz during the Turkish period to have been mixed and full of heterogeneous elements. It may stick to autochthonous shapes such as those of the vase and jugs (figs. 1, 3 and 4). It may take up a traditional theme or ornament of the Eurasian steppes (figs. 6, 8 and 9), even direct borrowings from Persia are possible (the lions of figs. 6 and 8). But some objects of material culture (figs. 7 and 9) and the majority of ornaments derive from China. Since this greatest cultural center of the Far East composed its repertory of

18. See: the painted leather strip on the sound-box of a musical instrument: TOYEI SHUKO, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pl. 294.

19. A. SALMONY, *Eine Chinesische Schmuckform und ihre Verbreitung in Eurasien*, "Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua", vol. IX, Helsinki, 1934.

20. In: A. SALMONY, *Sino-Siberian Art*, Paris, 1933, p. 71 and pl. XXVIII.

T'ang times with the help of Sasanian Persia, Chinese artistic domination over Siberia implies at the same time Persian influence.

The Kopeny find deserves to be called a treasure on account of its wealth in gold and the importance of nearly all of its figurative objects. It belongs within the migration period which has remained almost blank as far as Siberia is concerned until the results of the Saian-Altai expedition were made known. Its most characteristic predecessor is the gold treasure from Albania, owned almost entirely by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It brings together objects of Greek, Mediterranean and of Sasanian origin with gold of the Avars<sup>21</sup>. The combination of these elements points towards the VI and VII centuries. Kopeny fulfills the request for an equally typical find from the centuries under Turkish rule, the VII and VIII. It also helps one to understand the later stage of Turkish art represented by the gold treasure of Nagy Szent Miklós discovered in Hungary as early as 1799 and housed in the Hofmuseum in Vienna. Much time was required before these monuments received their proper identification and dating. Inscriptions in runic letters of the Turkish alphabet also proved very helpful in this work<sup>22</sup>. Finally, Nagy Szent Miklós was assigned to the IX century for epigraphic reasons. Kopeny supports this date because it introduces the Far Eastern elements of the Hungarian treasure in an earlier stage of evolution. Aside from filling a gap, Kopeny eliminates the monopoly of material and artistic wealth, thus far held by the migration sites of Eastern Europe.

ALFRED SALMONY



21. See: STRZYGOWSKI, *op. cit.*

22. See: G. FEHÉR, *Les monuments de la culture protobulgare*, Budapest, 1931, p. 124.



# THE ARTIST OF THE 1486 VIEW OF VENICE

**I**N 1486 the first *View of Venice* worthy of such designation — for there were a few wretched predecessors — appeared in Bernard von Breydenbach's well known and in its time enormously popular *Peregrinationes in terram sanctam*. In the preface to the book we read that this noble pilgrim, dean of the Cathedral of Mayence, provided for the illustrations of the account which he planned to write of his journey by taking an artist with him. The painter whom he selected was Erhard Reeuwich from Utrecht. While some critics, in view of this information, consider him a Dutch artist, others have long since advanced the thesis that these illustrations show no resemblance to any Dutch woodcuts of the period<sup>1</sup>. Recently this negative statement has been amplified by Count Solms' careful demonstration that Reeuwich is to be identified with the German so-called Master of the Housebook<sup>2</sup>.

Here we face a problem which, strangely enough, has never been considered. Is it possible that this large and splendid view (fig. 1), which combines a complete understanding of the unique site of the city with a careful rendering of countless details, represents the work of a passerby — a tourist who, according to the diary of the pilgrimage, spent only three weeks in Venice? In our judgment these circumstances are sufficient to prove the absurdity of such a presumption which introduces

1. THIEME-BECKER, *Künstler Lexikon*, vol. 28, p. 80.

2. "Städel Jahrbuch", 1935-6, pp. 13 to 95.

into the past an entirely modern point of view. Today the rendering of a city view may be considered simple hackwork, but it was not so in a period that had just begun to concentrate on reality. In this *View of Venice*, earlier than any other city view of equal scope and quality, the task is performed with marked skill; it reveals a far more intimate knowledge of that city than could have been gained through a short visit.

Such a theory, that the *View of Venice* was not designed by Reeuwich, contradicts, it is true, the statement in Breydenbach's preface: that Reeuwich had been taken along for the special task of drawing the sites visited in the journey<sup>3</sup>. We moderns, however, are inclined to overvalue such a statement and to accept it more literally than the XV century intended. In the manuscript of another pilgrimage to the Holy Land, undertaken three years after the journey of Breydenbach, the author boasts of having drawn his—incidentally very lively—illustrations directly from nature and on location. They are, however, exact copies from Reeuwich's woodcuts published three months before the second party left<sup>4</sup>. We may assume that Reeuwich's task was evidently to procure the material for the illustrations, either by making drawings himself or by acquiring suitable models by other artists. Nobody in the XV century would have acted otherwise or would have been supposed to do so.

That a design by another artist was used as a model for the *View of Venice* is further evidenced by the striking stylistic difference between this view and others in the book, most of all that of Jerusalem. This latter, as the goal of the pilgrimage and a place exceedingly hard to reach, certainly must have demanded the most careful representation<sup>5</sup>. The difference between these two woodcuts is quite considerable. The view of Jerusalem is composed of conventional patterns, for which a good draughtsman could have made his notes in a few days, arranged without any convincing ability. Even such details as, for instance, trees and human figures, are conceived in an utterly different manner. Leaving aside the question as to whether Reeuwich may have used an existing illustration for his view of Jerusalem—for this would lead us too far—we may infer from the mere difference between the two views that the original models were by different hands, and that Reeuwich did not make the design of Venice. This, incidentally, is true with regard to certain

3. The statement is confirmed by FELIX FABRI, one of Breydenbach's companions who described the same journey in a scholarly book: "Conduxit etiam pretio eruditum virum, Erhardum Reuich, subtilissimum pictorem qui portus maris et civitates et terrae loca, et praecipue terram sanctam, et habitum gentium dictarum proprie figuravit, et figuras ad descriptiones aptavit." (Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae peregrinationem, ed. C. A. Hassler, Stuttgart 1843 I, p. 329, English edition: AUBREY STEWART, *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, London 1892).

4. RITTER GRUENENBERG's *Pilgerfahrt ins hl. Land*, 1486, (ed. Johann Goldfriedrich). Gruenenberg left on April 22nd while Breydenbach's book was finished in print on February 11th of the same year. As to the relationship of the miniatures of the two existing manuscripts in Gotha and Karlsruhe to Breydenbach's book see: HELLMUTH LEHMANN-HAUPT, *Die Holzschnitte der Breydenbach'schen Pilgerfahrt als Vorbilder gezeichnete Handschriften-illustration*, in "Guttenberg Jahrbuch", 1929, pp. 152 sq.

5. The emphasis laid on the Holy Land is implied in the passage from FABRI's book quoted in note 3.

other views in Breydenbach's book<sup>6</sup>. If Reeuwich is identical with the Master of the Housebook, as in our opinion Count Solms has satisfactorily proved, we may add that no characteristic of this very well known and original artist allows us to believe that he ever concentrated upon such a task as the *View of Venice*. His best qualities exclude the painstaking patience it must have demanded.

As soon as we surmise that a part of Reeuwich's task as official illustrator of Breydenbach's journey to the Holy Land was to procure models for his woodcuts,

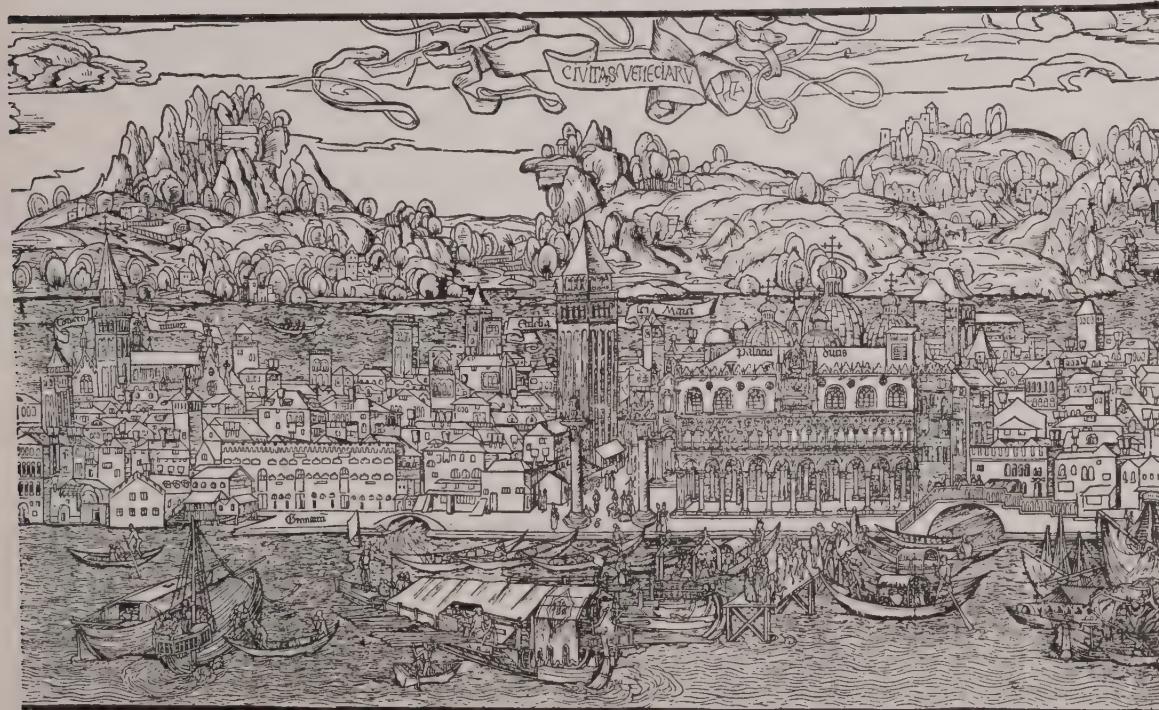


FIG. 1.—CENTRAL PORTION OF THE VIEW OF VENICE IN BREYDENBACH'S *Peregrinationes*, Edition of Speyer 1502.  
(From Davies, *Bernard von Breydenbach*, pl. 8.)

and that such a drawing was acquired for the *View of Venice*, we shall have to suppose that a drawing by some Venetian artist served his purpose. The number of artists to be taken into consideration is extremely limited. Once more we wish to emphasize the great difficulties of such a task which combines theoretical knowledge with practical ability. In view of the date, 1486, our first guess would be Gentile Bellini who was certainly the best prepared for such an undertaking. Not only was he considered an outstanding specialist in the field of perspective studies but from various contemporary sources we know that he executed a view or views of Venice.

6. This refers principally to the views of Corun and Rhodes, details from which also appear in paintings and drawings by Carpaccio. This much discussed and complicated problem is fully investigated in our *Catalogue of the Venetian Drawings of the XV and XVI centuries* (ready for the printer).



FIG. 2. — ATTRIBUTED TO GENTILE BELLINI. — Courtesan. Courtesy of the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

tural situation at the date of publication. The large window which appears in the façade of the Ducal Palace (figs. 1, 4) was executed by A. Rizzo in 1471, that is to say after the death of Jacopo Bellini. Gentile must have likewise added the persons in the foreground which are of a more advanced style than Jacopo's and, on the other hand, differ from the figures in several other views in Breydenbach's book. These, as well as the boats of intricate form in the foreground of the *View of Venice*, could hardly have been drawn by an inlander on a casual visit; they are strictly Venetian in character. Here again we are on the trail of Gentile whose costume figures be-

Angiolello, in his *Historia Turchesca dal 1429 al 1513* — our principal source of information on Turkey for this period — states that Sultan Mahomed II ordered Gentile while he was at Constantinople "to make a drawing of Venice and portraits of many persons". In 1493 Francesco Gonzaga approached Gentile through his Venetian agent, Andrea Salimbene, to procure from him a view of Venice and another of Cairo. Views of Genoa and of Paris are later mentioned in the same correspondence. Apparently Gentile enjoyed a certain renown for his city views and in this as well as in other respects he may have been the heir of his father Jacopo. Andrea Salimbene, in his answer to Francesco Gonzaga, relates that Gentile offered him a view which he had from the hand of Jacopo and promised to make the old and almost faded linework fit for use by working over it<sup>7</sup>.

If the view in Breydenbach's book is based on Jacopo's old drawing, Gentile must also have modernized it because, as pointed out by Davies in his study of Breydenbach<sup>8</sup>, the woodcut corresponds precisely with the architec-

7. Compare the whole extremely instructive passage in "Archivio Storico dell'Arte", 1888, vol. I, p. 277.

8. Bernhard von Breydenbach and his journey to the Holy Land 1483 to 1484, compiled by H. W. DAVIES, London, 1911.

longed to the stock in trade of many studios. Even such a keen observer as Albrecht Dürer, on the occasion of his first short visit to Venice in 1494 to 1495, did not draw the picturesque types he met in Saint Mark's Square and on the Rialto, but copied Gentile's models<sup>9</sup>. The spectators in the woodcut of Breydenbach's book originate from the same source. The drawing for the lady on high pattens who is stepping

down into a boat must have been very similar to the one in the Fogg Art Museum (Loeser Bequest 1932 - 314), which Mongan-Sachs<sup>10</sup> have recognized as of late XV century origin and style rather than of the XVI century as previously supposed (fig. 2). Another figure, that of the Page seen from the rear, next to the lady just mentioned, perhaps derives from a drawing similar to that in Donnington Priory, published in Vasari Society III, 10, as *Anonymous Venetian, last quarter of the XV century*, and in our opinion very close to Gentile Bellini (fig. 3). We should like to further suggest that the Turkish women and soldiers which appear in other woodcuts by Reeuwich and again slightly modified in Carpaccio's works, have been copied from Gentile. The most important and instructive of these is the *Turkish Woman* in the Frank Jewett Mather Collection at Washington Crossing, executed by Carpaccio but dependent upon a study from life by Gentile Bellini. Fuller evidence will be cited in the explicit discussion in our forthcoming critical catalogue.

For our present purposes the question of attribution is of less importance than the general problem. The alternative of Reeuwich or Gentile Bellini seems secondary compared with the statement that this stupendous *View of Venice* is part of that "discovery of the world and of man" defined nearly a century ago by Jacob Burckhardt as an essential feature of the Italian Renaissance. The task of

faithfully depicting an individual city view was taken up by Italian and Northern artists at about the same time. In an altarpiece of 1469 in the "Scotch" Monastery in

FIG. 3. — ATTRIBUTED TO GENTILE BELLINI.  
Page seen from the rear. — Gathorne  
Hardy Collection.

9. B. DEGENHART, *Ein Beitrag zu den Zeichnungen Gentile und Giovanni Bellinis und Dürer's ersten Aufenthalt in Venedig*, in "Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen", 1940, pp. 37 sq.

10. AGNES MONGAN and PAUL J. SACHS, *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Cambridge, 1940, vol. I, no. 44.



Vienna one scene from the Legend of the Virgin is set against a general view of Vienna and another is placed in an exact view of her main street. If we compare such examples with our *View of Venice* certain essential differences are to be noted. In spite of the more or less correct combination of details truthfully rendered in the Viennese scenes, the general arrangement follows a convention, whereas in the *View of Venice* a sector of reality has been grasped as an individuality: the unique site of a town, its characteristic buildings, and the life of men and things surrounding them. Such a discovery is made possible by a combination, more exactly a fusion, of scientific and artistic interpretation which is the very essence of the early Italian Renaissance. The first man to formulate the new *credo* was L. B. Alberti, the artist-scientist who, according to Vasari, had painted a view of Saint Mark's Square in Venice for which other artists contributed the figures. This same Alberti was the man who, more than any other, led the way for Jacopo Bellini, Gentile's father. At any rate the discovery of a city as an individuality could have been made by only an Italian, a fellow countryman of Aeneas Sylvius whose literary portraits of cities both in Italy and abroad remained unrivaled for centuries. It was certainly no clever illustrator, but a great artist who discovered the city view, a new approach to reality, of which the woodcut in Breydenbach's *Pilgrimage* is the earliest incunabulum.

This achievement compares with those made in the fields of optics or of anatomy by the Italian Quattrocento. The early Renaissance discovered what it saw and, like other periods, learned to see from its artists. The latter opened the eyes of anatomists, students of perspective and topographers. The Renaissance enriched art by scientific methods but no less integrated scientific methods by artistic intuition. The ideal representative of this mutual fecundation is Leonardo da Vinci, not, as we are sometimes told, a great artist and a great scientist, but both jointly. His achievements in both fields were visions.



FIG. 4. — DETAIL FROM THE VIEW OF VENICE IN BREYDENBACH'S *Peregrinations*. Edition of Mayence, 1486. (From Davies, *Bernard von Breydenbach*, pl. 10.)

HANS TIETZE AND E. TIETZE-CONRAT



FIG. 1. — TITIAN. — SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE. — Borghese Gallery, Rome.

## A NEW INTERPRETATION OF TITIAN'S *SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE*

THE question of the title of Titian's painting, *Sacred and Profane Love* (Borghese Gallery, Rome), came up about two hundred years after the artist painted it<sup>1</sup>. For a long time the discussion revolved around the question as to which of the two female figures, the clothed or the nude, was meant to personify profane love and, which the sacred (fig. 1).

The traditional medieval point of view which associated nudity with *voluptas* would have favored an interpretation in terms of the old Psychomachia, emphasizing the antagonism between vice and virtue, *luxuria* and *castitas*. The Renaissance, however, had refuted many an age old conception, and it seems unlikely that the young Titian would have followed a scholastic iconographic type.

1. See: DOMENICO MONTELATICI, *Villa Borghese*, Rome, 1700, p. 288, quoted from LIONELLO VENTURI, *Note sulla Galleria Borghese*, in: "L'Arte", 1919, p. 37.

Wickhoff<sup>2</sup> pointed to a literary motive from the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus as the probable source of Titian's inspiration. The nude figure, he believed, was Venus, urging Medea to love Jason. In summing up this and other suggestions, Olga von Gerstfeldt<sup>3</sup> ridiculed any attempt to interpret the picture which, in her opinion, was nothing but a portrait of Violanta, the daughter of Palma Vecchio who was the mistress of Titian. She considered it a double portrait showing the blonde beauty *en grande toilette* and *en deshabillé*. However, not all of the theories advanced can be so easily dismissed. If the painting bears the coat of arms of the Aurelio family in Venice, as Umberto Gnoli<sup>4</sup> has established, and if, as Alexander Riese<sup>5</sup> believed, Titian painted the canvas as a marriage gift, for high patronage, it must then be surmised that the picture had, in addition to its portrait quality, some meaning appropriate to the occasion.

In 1917 Louis Hourticq, in an article in the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts"<sup>6</sup>, pointed out another literary work as the source of the iconography of Titian's painting. His suggestion appeared more acceptable because the work he proposed was a popular contemporary novel undoubtedly known to Titian: the *Hypnerotomachia*, printed in 1499 by Leonardo Grasso and Aldus Manutius in Venice<sup>7</sup>. According to Hourticq's interpretation the nude figure would be Venus and the clothed one Polia, a shy maiden afraid of love. Both were heroines of the novel. The goddess, he assumed, was urging Polia to listen to Poliphilo, her faithful lover. Hourticq also attempted to interpret the relief figures depicted on the fountain upon which the two ladies are seated. He observed that the scene at the right referred to the episode of Adonis flogged by Mars with Venus running to aid her lover. The scene is indeed related to a woodcut in the *Hypnerotomachia* (fig. 2). It is striking how literally Titian took over some features of this engraving. For instance the running Venus shown at the extreme right is very similar in posture to the Venus of the woodcut. He also repeats the device of treating the scene as a relief of the sarcophagus of Adonis converted into a fountain. Hourticq did not elaborate on the theme, nor did he carry through a comparative analysis of the pictorial material. As to the left portion of the relief, he made some tentative suggestions which he finally dropped, concluding that it had no particular meaning. The central figures of the relief, partly hidden behind the rosebush in front of the fountain, he hardly noticed at all. The article in the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts" was included by the author two years later in a volume on the early Titian<sup>8</sup>, but his hypothesis found no echo. There is always a certain disinclination to

2. FRANZ WICKHOFF, *Giorgiones Bilder zu Römischen Heldengeschichten*, in: "Jahrbücher der königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen", 1895, p. 34.

3. OLGA VON GERSTFELDT, *Venus und Violante*, in: "Monatshefte für Kunsthissenschaft", October 1910, p. 365.

4. UMBERTO GNOLI, *Amor Sacro e Profano*, in: "Rassegna d'Arte", 1902, p. 177.

5. See: PAUL SCHUMANN, *Tizian's Ueberredung zur Liebe*, Kunstwart, 1905, p. 599.

6. LOUIS HOURTICQ, *La "Fontaine d'Amour" de Titien*, in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", 1917, p. 288-298.

7. The *Hypnerotomachia* was early ascribed to a Dominican monk, Francesco Colonna.

8. LOUIS HOURTICQ, *La Jeunesse de Titien*, 1919.

adopt a literary interpretation of a work of art, particularly when this interpretation does not account for every point of its iconography. Hourticq failed to explain the major portion of the fountain relief. Moreover, his study appeared during a period unfavorable to art discussion, and his suggestions were practically disregarded. Professor Ervin Panofsky in dealing with Titian's Borghese painting in 1930<sup>9</sup>, ignored the hypothesis of Hourticq. Approaching the subject from a philosophical angle, in terms of the commentaries of Plato by Marsilio Ficino and similar contemporary treatises, he arrived at a similar interpretation with regard to the nude figure. He too saw her as a personification of divine love. His conception of the clothed figure, however, influenced by the assumed antithetic juxtaposition, differed from Hourticq's. The clothed figure he interpreted as depicting earthly love.

To Professor Walter Friedlaender<sup>10</sup> we owe the rediscovery of Hourticq's thesis. In an article in the "Art Bulletin" he presented a discussion of the *Hypnerotomachia* as the literary source of the painting and showed in minute analysis what was really taking place in the scene. He laid emphasis on the rite of the *tintura delle rose* performed by Cupid at the fountain.

Standing at the far side of the fountain Cupid dips his right hand into the water. According to the *Hypnerotomachia*, Venus pricked the calf of her leg against a rosethorn while running to the rescue of Adonis. Cupid caught the drops of blood from her wound into an oyster shell and deposited them in the tomb of Adonis, who had later been killed, by a boar. Every spring thereafter Venus would visit the grave. Cupid would fetch the shell containing his mother's blood and bring it to her. At such moments the white roses would turn red. This bouquet of white roses which remains forever fresh had been used by Cupid to dry the tears of Venus as she mourned over Adonis. Roses play a part in the painting. A rose is placed conspicuously on the ledge of the fountain and a rosebush grows in front of the fountain in the center of the picture. The scene received life and color from Friedlaender's presentation which gave the discussion a new turn. Professor

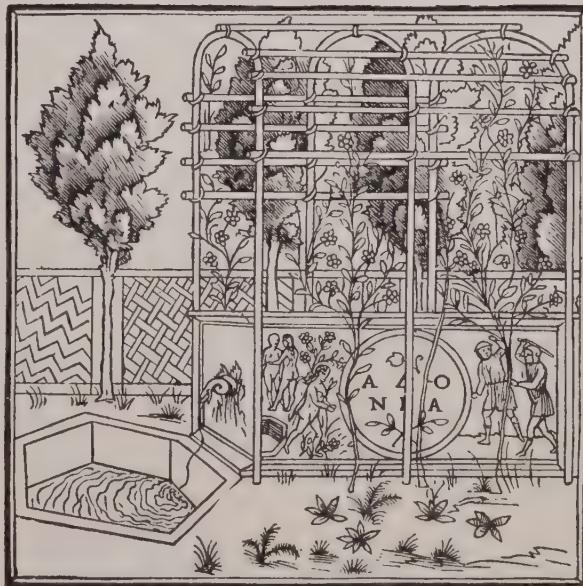


FIG. 2. — MARS FLOGGING ADONIS. — Woodcut from the *Hypnerotomachia*.

9. ERVIN PANOFSKY, *Hercules am Scheidewege*, 1930. Exkurs I: Zur Deutung von Tizians "Himmlischer und Idischer Liebe", p. 173.

10. WALTER FRIEDELAENDER, *La Tintura delle Rose*, in: "The Art Bulletin", 1938, p. 320.



FIG. 3. — TITIAN. — SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE. — Detail. — Left scene: The Unyielding Horse.

Edgar Wind, recently dealing with the Borghese painting in his course on the Iconography of the Renaissance<sup>11</sup>, agreed with Friedlaender's interpretation of the painting in so far as to discard the antithesis of divine and earthly love foreign to the *Hypnerotomachia*. He insisted, however, on the more general connotations of the scene, drawing upon the Venetian trends in the philosophical debates of the period illustrative of Titian's background and emphasized the significance of the nude figure as personifying passion. Although reverting in a sense to the medieval conception

identifying nudity with *voluptas*, Wind removed the odium of prudery hovering about this figure. Rejecting Panofsky's emphasis on the intellectual quality of divine love, Wind agreed with him in assigning the nude beauty the primary role in the composition. The clothed figure, embodying earthly love in Panofsky's vocabulary, or pale chastity in terms of Wind's imagery and the "coy maiden" of Friedlaender's version, was relegated to secondary rank.

It is highly probable that the treatment of the clothed figure at the left as of secondary interest has been to a certain extent due to the failure to explain the left part of the fountain relief. The right part was related to the story of Venus seated at that side. Everyone accepting this interpretation would expect the left portion to bear similar connection with the figure seated on the left. The clue to the clothed figure was no doubt hidden in the left relief scene, but the meaning of that scene remained obscure. Let us examine it.

Moving from left to right is an upright figure partly concealed by the dress of the woman seated on the fountain ledge. Further along, a horse walks toward the right while a half-figure above it bends to the left. Still further to the right are two figures partly hidden behind the rosebush, and finally there is an overturned bucket and an escutcheon (fig. 1).

The erect figure at the extreme left (fig. 3) is shown extending its left arm toward the smallish half-figure just behind the horse. Raising its shoulder with evident effort, this figure is about to lift the bending figure. Its profile has regular features, except for the chin which is somewhat protruding and thus conveys stern determination. The chest follows the movement of the arm, but the lower part of the

<sup>11</sup>. Held in the spring of 1942 in the Institute of Fine Arts in New York.

body is strangely rigid and tapering. The figure is unmistakably a herm, nude to the navel with the lower portion of its body enclosed in stone. This point has escaped the eye of previous interpreters.

Now the herm plays a certain role in the *Hypnerotomachia*. It appears there as Priapus, the "god who watches over the gardens"<sup>12</sup> and as a cult symbol carried by satyrs in the *trionfo* of Cupid. In both instances the herm is a sort of fertility god. In a woodcut of the *Hypnerotomachia* illustrating the triumphal pageant, two herms are carried by satyrs (fig. 4). The herm is originally the boundary god Terminus who is characterised by his refusal to yield to Jove<sup>13</sup>. From the discussion of the other figures and their relationship with the herm its significance will become apparent.

Let us turn now to the horse, the most conspicuous figure of the scene (fig. 3).



FIG. 4. — THE TRIUMPH OF CUPID. — Woodcut from the *Hypnerotomachia*.

It has been suggested that it might be the horse of Mars or of Adonis involved in the scene on the right. However the horse is strangely enough unsaddled and unbridled and is shown quietly walking instead of waiting for its master. It is a fine animal with delicate, narrow head, very small ears, and a full, beautifully curved tail. These characteristics agree with the description of a horse in the *Hypnerotomachia*. In the dream of Poliphilo — the whole story is told in terms of a dream of the hero — a horse or

rather a horse statue appears at the entrance of a valley where the hero begins his wanderings. This horse is said to have small ears and a long mane, obviously characteristics of the female. It is described as unsaddled and unbridled and not broken in. Such features might be suggestive of the symbol of virginity. In the woodcut (fig. 5) the horse has a full, curly mane and a long, curved tail. *Putti* are trying to mount the horse. Two have fallen to the ground, another is about to fall, two more are shown climbing up onto it, while one *putto* has managed to get on the horse's back and is bending over and reaching out with his left hand in an effort to grasp the mane and thus keep his balance.

12. F. SAXL, *Pagan Sacrifice in the Italian Renaissance*, in: "Journal of the Warburg Institute", 1938-1939, vol. II, p. 361 and sq.

13. EDGAR WIND, *Aenigma Termini*, in: "Journal of the Warburg Institute", 1937-1938, vol. I, p. 66.

On a separate woodcut are two inscriptions from the pedestal of the horse statue. They are also mentioned in the text. One reads: "*Equus Infoelicitatis*", the other "*D.Ambig.D.D.*", which stands for "*Diis Ambiguis Dedicatus*". Introduced to prevent the reader from missing any of the allusions intended, the inscriptions hint at the "unblessed", "ambiguous" state of the horse. The reader easily realises that the horse — a symbol of virginity — set at the entrance of the visionary world which Poliphilo is about to explore expresses the difficulties he will encounter in trying to win the love of Polia whom he meets in his dream.

Titian obviously used the woodcut with the horse attacked by the *putti* as a model for his horse and his small half-figure. This figure is poor little Eros worrying over his bad luck. The motive anticipates the Eros lamenting over the virginity of Danae in Rembrandt's Leningrad painting<sup>14</sup>.

The unyielding horse of the *Hypnerotomachia* may be better understood when compared with its opposite, the docile horses carrying "Love" in the *trionfo* of Petrarch. In a North Italian painting of the beginning of the XVI century, now in Washington (fig. 6), Cupid is carried by two horses harnessed to his carriage and mounted by winged *putti*. The motive of the yielding horse goes back to a Cupid riding with *griffin's* claws which he drives into the flanks of his horse — a symbol of possession — found by Panofsky in certain XIV century paintings<sup>15</sup>. The cupid riding a dolphin (an antique motive) in Raphael's *Stanza della Segnatura*<sup>16</sup> has a somewhat similar, although not quite identical, connotation as Wind has shown.

Turning back to Titian's unyielding horse and its hapless rider, it may be pointed out that the rider bears a striking resemblance to the *putto* grasping the mane of the horse on the woodcut of the *Hypnerotomachia* (fig. 5). The position of the head, the overlapping shoulder, and the extended arm are the same. Titian avoided the somewhat awkward legs of the *putto* and converted the wing of the horse into a drapery for the figure. The swing of this drapery conveys the suddenness of movement of the *putto*. The relation of the rider to the horse — reversed from the woodcut — is much more suggestive of his action. Bending to the left, while the horse walks to the right, he conspicuously moves away, giving up every attempt to control the horse. The crying Eros in Rembrandt's *Danae* similarly reflects his actual state of mind which points to a past stage in the life of the heroine.

As to the herm, its relationship to both the horse and the *putto* must be explained. The herm, as already noted, is conceived in the *Hypnerotomachia* as a sex symbol. It belongs, therefore, to the faction of Eros, and it should logically play the part of

14. See: ERVIN PANOFSKY, *Der Gefesselte Eros*, in: "Oud-Holland", 1933, where the Danae painting is interpreted.

15. ERVIN PANOFSKY, *Studies in Iconology*, 1939, p. 117.

16. EDGAR WIND, *The Four Elements in Raphaël's "Stanza della Segnatura"*, in: "Journal of the Warburg Institute", 1938-1939, vol. II, p. 75.

his protector, trying to comfort him and lift him up. The unyielding god Terminus, the herm — a symbol of nature — is ideologically opposed to this unyielding horse, which symbolizes virginity. Summing up the roles of these three figures we may say that they are an allegory of assailed virginity. Thus they offer a clue to the understanding of the figure seated on the left side of the fountain. There can be no doubt that the scene of the left of the relief is subordinated to the corresponding seated figure just as the Adonis scene on the right is subordinated to the figure of Venus. Both relief scenes are intended to point out some conspicuous features of the story of the two heroines, Venus and Polia of the *Hypnerotomachia*, and to reflect their emotional state.

Let us now consider the central part of the relief. The horse is walking to the right, led by an attendant who is holding the horse by a halter with his right hand. This figure is partly hidden by the rosebush in front of the "fountain-sarcophagus". Behind the rosebush is another figure<sup>17</sup> with his back turned (fig. 7). Thus the horse appears to be flanked by two men, one leading it, the other standing somewhat further forward and bending to the left. The posture of the second figure is particularly tense, conveying some sudden action. Friedlaender has suggested that the man may be pulling down the coat of arms. This explanation helps us to understand the gesture of the figure partly concealed behind the rosebush. The man reaches with his right arm toward the escutcheon. In the face of the action displayed in the relief I would modify the interpretation of that gesture only in so far as to say the man may be pulling down the ribbons of the escutcheon to lash onto the horse. This explanation would account for the sudden action as well as the other figures on the left. The unsaddled and unbridled horse which no one has been able to master now is to be tied up with the ribbons from the coat of arms. The symbolism of this scene is perfectly clear and suggests a marriage ritual.

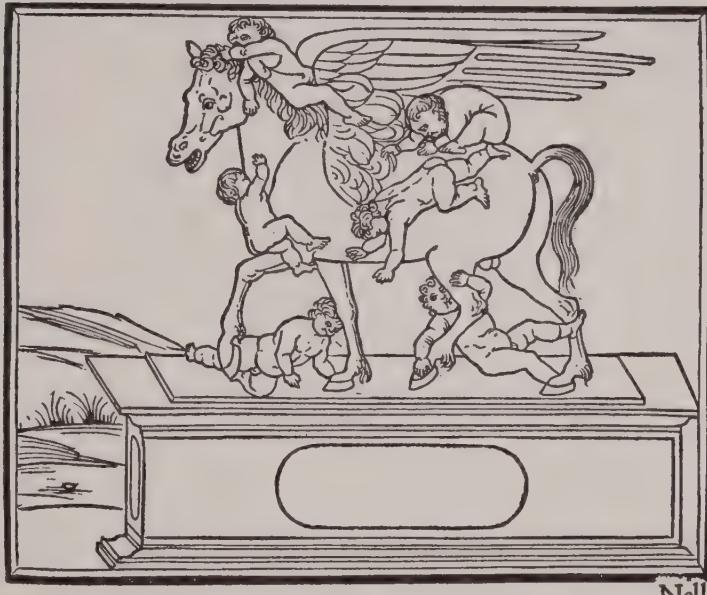


FIG. 5. — THE UNYIELDING HORSE. — Woodcut from the *Hypnerotomachia*.

<sup>17</sup>. The second figure has been noticed by PROF. KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN. From a verbal statement quoted by WALTER FRIEDLAENDER, *op. cit.*, p. 323, note 13.

In front of the second attendant there is an overturned pail from which water runs upon the rosebush. The watering of the rosebush is another allusion to love and marriage, and more specifically to the rite of the *tintura delle rose* displayed in the upper realm of the scene. Thus all three parts of the fountain relief correspond to the figures grouped around the fountain: Venus, Polia and Cupid.

The formal disposition and symmetrical arrangement of the two figures, Venus and Polia, side by side on the fountain ledge, and the emphasis on the figure of Cupid placed almost in the center as well as the strict correlation with the figures on the fountain relief are striking features which Titian could not have found in the illustration of the *Hypnerotomachia*. However the composition of the picture is not an invention of Titian in all these points. The motive of the goddess seated on the "fountain-sarcophagus" he borrowed from the *Hypnerotomachia*. She is there seated on

the tomb of Adonis on an "antique" chair (fig. 8) her posture recalling the figure of Love in the *trionfi*, frequently portrayed seated on a chair in a coach. But the author of the *Hypnerotomachia*, eager to intimate some ambiguous associations, imagined Venus as a mother suckling her baby. The nymphs of her retinue are shown kneeling before her and worshipping this divine mother. The scene alludes, of course, to the Adoration of the Virgin and Child and is the more awkward since the motherly Venus is not particularly attractive. The inscriptions on the tomb of Adonis also have ambiguous connotations. They read: "*Adonia*" on the one side and "*Impura Suavitas*" on the other. The love adventure of the goddess, it



FIG. 6. — THE TRIUMPH OF LOVE. — Oil on Wood. — The National Gallery of Art in Washington, formerly Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

would seem, is thus strongly condemned. Moreover, in the scene where Venus appears to the two lovers in person, Poliphilo and Polia — her seated figure on the tomb is a statue — she blesses their "licit love". In a rite, imitating that of marriage, she gives each of her protégés a ring set with a gem called "*anteros*". The magic gem is interpreted as "*amor reciproco*". An equal share of a wholly undramatic, mutual love is given to both. Thus Venus is characterized in the *Hypnerotomachia* as a not very poetic mother and protector of legitimate love rather than the Goddess of Passion.

Titian, however, changed all this. Taking over the formal motive of Venus seated on the sarcophagus, he transformed her into a vision of lovely womanhood. Her left arm is raised as she holds the incense burner — the symbol of passion. Venus

turns around and, resting her right arm on the ledge, addresses the young girl who is seated at the other end of the fountain. She talks to her with insistence, and yet her mind is lost in an inner vision. There is something sad about this Venus. Of course, it is a day of mournful recollections. Prof. Wind has suggested that the Adonis scene of the relief is meant to emphasize the chastizing power of love. It may illustrate the punishment of adultery as well, a point which should have pleased a suspicious fiancé. Whatever the meaning of the allusion, it introduces an element of suffering into the aspect of love. Venus is positively not the triumphant goddess of love urging a young woman to join her bright realm. Polia who sits at her side is treated as a person of equal rank. Never seated with Venus in the *Hypnerotomachia*, she is rendered here as a counterpart of the Goddess. And her story introduced into the relief of the tomb of Adonis likewise attains a particular significance. This is an entirely new point, suggesting some manner of antithetic conception of the two women on the part of the artist. Polia is shown with her face turned away, her upper lip slightly curled, her ample dress entirely concealing her body in a cascade of elaborate folds. Even her hands are gloved. With an instinctive gesture of caution she holds her left hand on a vessel close to her. It is a closed vessel. (The bright highlights on the cover have been mistaken for flowers.) In her right hand she holds some violets with a studied and rigid gesture.

As to Cupid, he is placed closer to Polia and thus meant to infer that the love rite he is about to perform directly concerns her and is executed in her behalf. For all her apparent frigidity and readiness to rise and go away, she is somehow disturbed and hesitating. One feels that the young woman is experiencing some sort of inner transformation, and it becomes clear that Titian wished to express a transitory state rather than the static antithesis of Sacred Love versus Profane Love, or Sensuous Love versus Chastity.

Titian was often haunted by the image of the transitoriness of life. In one of his early paintings, *The Three Ages* in Bridgewater House, London, he portrayed Childhood, Youth and Old Age. In his *Allegory* in the Sir Francis Howard Collection, London, a late work, Titian again typified the three ages of man. It is interesting to note that he used for that allegorical image the *signum triceps*, the three-



FIG. 7.—TITIAN.—SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE. Detail.—Central and Right scene: The Horse Is Lashed On. Mars Flogging Adonis.

headed figure borrowed from the herm of the *Hypnerotomachia*. He gave one head to the herm of his painting, which shows how carefully he studied every detail.

In the so-called "Sacred and Profane Love" the plot of the *Hypnerotomachia* is used as a pattern of woman's life. Titian has represented the two stages of life in juxtaposing the girl and the woman of Poliphilo's dream. They are in fact one human being shown in two phases of life. In this sense both have much in common. Yet they are different; not only in their costume and their attributes, but their essentially different attitudes toward life. The movements of Venus are free, whereas the gestures of Polia are closed.

The analysis of the iconography of the picture would perhaps not be complete without reference to a motive which, consciously or not, must have influenced Titian's arrangement of the Love Fountain. In his time the motive of the Love Fountain was still intimately associated with the Fountain of Youth and its Christian connotations. Cupid standing in the center of the fountain could easily be traced to the angel stirring the water of the pool of Bethesda and operating miraculous cures according to St. John 5.4. The love rite of the *tintura delle rose* was an obvious allusion to the cult of the "Precious Blood". In the art of the late Middle Ages the Crucified Himself is frequently shown on a cross issuing from the middle of a fountain in which the faithful are bathing. The arrangement of this scene with the crucifix in the center is always symmetrical. The bathers enter the basin from the left and emerge on the right, rejuvenated. In the process of secularization the cross disappeared and Cupid became its substitute<sup>18</sup>. Titian's Cupid alludes to the two mysteries mixing Christian and supposedly Pagan conceptions in the true fashion of the Renaissance.

The *Paroli di Poliphilo* were for quite a while, as can be inferred from *Il Cortegiano*<sup>19</sup>, a feature of the *conversation galante*. In the interpretation of Titian who veiled the ambiguous aspects of Poliphilo's dream, the charming parable of love and marriage must have appeared to the bride and the bridegroom as a subtle homage.

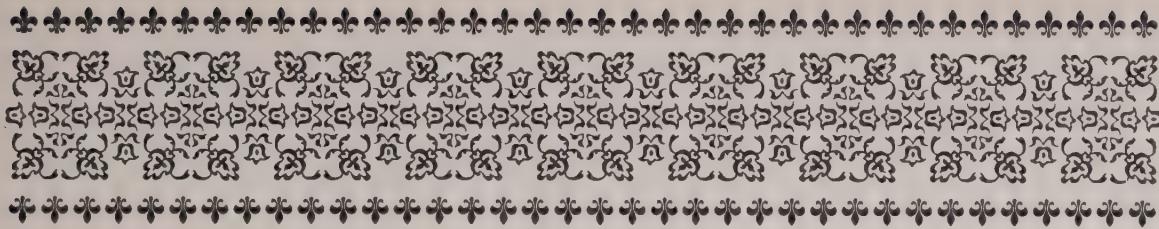
RACHEL WISCHNITZER-BERNSTEIN

18. For the religious versions of the Fountain of Youth, see: EMILE MALE, *L'art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen-Age en France*, 1925, pp. 110 and sq. The profane versions of the motive have not yet been compiled.

19. "Il Cortegiano" by Baldassare Castiglione, . . . in: "Sitzungsberichte d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.", 1929, 3.



FIG. 8. — STATUE OF VENUS ON THE ADONIS TOMB. — Woodcut from the *Hypnerotomachia*.



# EUGENE DELACROIX AND LORD BYRON

## I

**T**HE life and works of Lord Byron have long been recognized as a predominant influence in the development of French literature and art of the Romantic period<sup>1</sup>. Indeed it was in France that his works enjoyed a popularity, in English and in French translation, almost as great as in his native country. Critical at first, the French public soon capitulated to the spell of Byron's verse as well as to the fascination of his personality<sup>2</sup>. To a young Frenchman in the years just after Waterloo the name of Byron would have been hard to avoid in the public prints, even had he chosen to refrain from reading his work. Delacroix made no such choice, and the available evidence indicates that his interest in Byron precedes the first French translation of Byron's collected work; in a letter of the 22 September 1819

1. See: EDMOND ESTÈVE, *Byron et le Romantisme français*, Paris, 1907, for a detailed account of Byron's influence on Romantic literature.

2. Only a few years separate the first unfavourable comments of AMAURY DUVAL ("Mercure étranger", 1813) from the sympathetic reviews of MALTE-BRUN ("Journal des Débats", 1818).

to Pierret, Delacroix expressed his regret at not yet having read *The Lament of Tasso*<sup>3</sup>. Although the next reference to Byron in his correspondence does not occur until 1826, we may presume that a number of letters from the intervening years is no longer in existence.

Meanwhile, in 1822 Delacroix commenced the *Journal* that he was to keep, with only two interruptions, until the end of his life. The first part comprises the two years from the 3 September 1822 through the 5 October 1824<sup>4</sup>. These are the years of his first and most notorious successes at the Salon, the years of his youth when ideas crowded upon him thick and fast, when the pages of his notebooks received the swift jottings of his imagination as he dreamed of the glories which lay ahead. All this is in sharp contrast to the later *Journal*, resumed in 1847, when the man of middle age pondered in solitude the ideas which he was preparing to incorporate in his unwritten *Dictionnaire des beaux arts*. The distinction between the two parts of the *Journal* is not only immediately apparent to the reader, but involves a different evaluation of the two parts as evidence of the direction of Delacroix's thought.

The first direct reference in the *Journal* to Byron by name occurs on the 11 April 1824 in a context of considerable significance<sup>5</sup>. The entry itself is unusually lengthy for this period and suggests that Delacroix, then at work upon the *Massacre de Scio*, had become disturbed by the relaxation of the enthusiasm necessary for the completion of such a large task. After commenting upon the need for treating each subject while inspiration is still urgent, since to postpone work is to lose interest, he mentioned several subjects for paintings which had just occurred to him. "Qu'arrive-t-il ce soir? Je suis, depuis une heure, à balancer entre Mazeppa, Don Juan, le Tasse, et cent autres" (fig. 1). Whatever the "hundred others" may have been, it is worth noting that the three subjects mentioned are equally the titles of poems by Byron. Byron was much in his mind that evening, for a few lines later he returned to the poet.

"Certes, si je prenais la palette en ce moment, et j'en meurs de ce besoin, le beau Velasquez me travaillerait . . . Ce qu'il faudrait donc pour trouver un sujet, c'est d'ouvrir un livre capable d'inspirer et se laisser guider par l'humeur) . . . Il y en a qui ne doivent jamais manquer leur effet. Ce sont ceux-là qu'il faut avoir. De même que des gravures. Dante, Lamartine, Byron, Michel-Ange."

A month later, after reading *The Giaour*, he was so stirred that he undertook

3. "Un des mes regrets est de n'avoir pu lire la belle élégie de lord Byron: je dis belle, parce qu'il a l'âme trop brûlante et que le sujet lui convient trop bien pour qu'il ne l'ait pas saisi dans le bon sens." See: ANDRÉ JOUBIN, ed., *Correspondance générale d'Eugène Delacroix*, Paris, 1936-1938, 5 vols., I, p. 54. Hereinafter referred to as *Correspondance*.

4. For 1822 there are eleven entries, relatively lengthy, from the 3 September to the 27 October; for 1823 nine entries from the 15 April to the 30 December; for 1824, 119 entries from the 1 January to the 19 August, and two in October. Thus the first eight months of 1824 are disproportionately well documented.

5. ANDRÉ JOUBIN, ed., *Journal de Eugène Delacroix*, Paris, 1932, 3 vols., I, pp. 72-74. Hereinafter referred to as *Journal*.

a painting of the subject on the following day and noted his enthusiasm at length in the *Journal*<sup>6</sup>. In this extraordinary passage Delacroix reveals how, though he was himself aware of the distinction to be made between the properties peculiar to poetry and to painting, the literary text was the immediate inspiration for the visual image.

*“La peinture, je me le suis dit mille fois, a ses faveurs qui lui sont propres à elle seule. Le poète est bien riche: rappelle-toi, pour t’enflammer éternellement, certains passages de Byron; ils me vont bien. La fin de la Fiancée d’Abydos, la Mort de Sélim, son corps roulé par les vagues et cette main surtout, cette main soulevée par le flot qui vient mourir sur le rivage. Cela est bien sublime et n’est qu’à lui. Je sens ces choses-là comme la peinture les comporte. La Mort d’Hassan dans le Giaour (fig. 2). Le Giaour contemplant sa victime et les imprécations du musulman contre le meurtrier d’Hassan.”*

This preoccupation with the poetry of Byron suggests that the character of the reader was well prepared to receive the stimulus of the Englishman’s tragic verses. What we may term the Byronic element in the personality of Delacroix, though less biographically spectacular than in the case of the poet, is apparent throughout these first years of the *Journal* which, indeed, opens with an account of his undefined relations with Lisette, a servant of his brother at whose estate he was staying at the time<sup>7</sup>. Though Delacroix knows himself that this is not a permanent attachment, he studies his reaction to this emotion in a way which parallels the introspection of Byron’s amatory verse. His despair at being unable to recapture on the morrow the happiness of the day just past suggests the subjective analysis of a state of mind which is apparent at the end of this same entry when he anticipates the disillusionment which will attend his return to Paris, where he will probably find only jealousy on the part of others and boredom for himself after his recent triumph. Yet the “triumph” to which he refers is the installation in the Luxembourg of his painting,



FIG. 1. — DELACROIX. — Tasso in the Madhouse. — Lithograph.

6. *Journal*, I, pp. 98-99; 10-11 May 1824.

7. *Journal*, I, pp. 1-3; 3 September 1822.

*Dante et Virgile*, his first contribution to a Salon and which had been purchased by the government.

Upon his arrival in Paris he encounters the expected disillusion. "*Je ne sais pourquoi le plaisir que je me promettais à revoir Paris s'affaiblissait à mesure que j'approchais. J'ai embrassé Pierret et je m'y suis trouvé triste*"<sup>8</sup>. Moments of exalted confidence alternate with periods of discouragement over the instability of his character. The mood in which he could declare that he will be the herald of those who are to do great things, is succeeded by several days of dejection. "*Je suis toujours troublé comme un faible enfant. Quelle mobilité que celle de mon esprit! Un instant, une idée dérange tout, renverse et retourne les résolutions les plus avancées. Par un sentiment intérieur de bonne foi, je ne voudrais pas paraître mieux que je ne suis, mais à quoi bon? Chaque homme s'inquiète bien plus de la moindre de ses misères que des plus insignes calamités d'une nation toute entière*"<sup>9</sup>.

There were, to be sure, circumstances in his personal life at this time which might well aggravate, though they would not necessarily cause, a condition of nervous introspection. His health had been a source of considerable anxiety to him, especially since he was for so long unable to effect a complete recovery from a severe attack of fever contracted in 1820. He worried about his financial position as he realized that his sister and brother-in-law were wasting his inheritance which, indeed, soon disappeared. His relations with his sister and his elder brother had never been cordial, and pecuniary difficulties did not better them. Finally, there was the awkward situation which had arisen between Delacroix and his friend Raymond Soulier. During the latter's absence in Italy Delacroix had been on intimate terms with Soulier's mistress, a relationship he attempted to maintain while aware that the situation was dangerous for all three, and unworthy of himself<sup>10</sup>.

Here then is a situation all too familiar in its general outlines, but which received a specific character from a source almost inevitable considering the prevalent Byronic interests of the period. Delacroix between the ages of twenty-four and twenty-six was a young man of undoubted talent who, though aware of his ability, questioned his own strength of will. He was poor and homeless, ill and involved in a degrading love. Suitable conditions for an interest in Romantic poetry are present; there remains to be seen the direction this interest will take.

## II

A statistical examination of that portion of the work of Delacroix in which the iconography is derived from English literature reveals the dominant part played by Shakespeare and Byron. During the four decades of his active life, from 1822 to

8. *Journal*, I, p. 12; 24 September 1822.

9. *Journal*, I, p. 18; 12 October 1822.

10. "*J'espére que mon tort envers lui n'influera pas sur ses relations avec (J)*", *Journal*, I, 21; 27 October 1822.

1863, there are periods of no less than sixteen and twenty years in which some work deriving from each author has been recorded<sup>11</sup>. Delacroix's interest in Shakespeare may be said to culminate with the series of sixteen lithographs for *Hamlet*, begun in 1834 but not published until 1843. Thereafter the *Hamlet* theme is frequently repeated, together with scenes from other plays, but the painted versions usually are of modest dimensions and were infrequently shown at the Salons. Since public exhibition may be considered in some measure an indication of both the artist's and the public's interest in the subjects chosen for representation, the larger scale and more frequent appearance of themes from Byron suggest his continuing study of the poetry which had first attracted him as a young man<sup>12</sup>.

Not the least significant factor in this iconography of subjects drawn from Byron is the reappearance after a lapse of many years of an identical subject, although the



FIG. 2. — DELACROIX. — The Death of Hassan. — Water-color.  
(Formerly in the Delacroix Collection, Paris).

11. From SHAKESPEARE there are works which may be assigned to the years 1824-1826, 1828, 1834, 1838-1840, 1842-1845, 1849-1851, and 1859. From BYRON there are works for the years 1824, 1826-1828, 1830, 1834, 1835, 1839, 1840, 1843, 1845, 1849, 1851, 1855, 1858-1860.

12. The Salons at which subjects from Byron were exhibited are as follows: 1827, *Le Doge Marino Faliero* (fig. 3), *La Mort de Sardanapale*, and *Combat du Giaour et du Pacha*; 1831, *Gulnare dans la prison de Conrad*; 1835, *Le Prisonnier de Chillon* (fig. 4); 1841, *Un Naufrage ou la barque de Don Juan*; 1848, *La Mort de Lara*; 1850-1851, *Le Giaour poursuivant les ravisseurs de sa maîtresse*. At the Exposition Universelle of 1855 Delacroix exhibited *Les Deux Foscari*, *Le Combat du Giaour et du Pacha*, and *Le Tasse en prison* in addition to the *Prisonnier de Chillon* and the *Barque de Don Juan* noted above.



FIG. 3. — DELACROIX. — The Execution of the Doge Marino Faliero.  
Painting — Wallace Collection, London.

years<sup>16</sup>. Meanwhile other versions were executed in 1835 and 1856. Variants of the Giaour theme also were painted as *La Confession du Giaour* in 1838 and *Le Giaour poursuivant les ravisseurs de sa maîtresse* in 1849<sup>17</sup>.

The later years of the *Journal* offer further instances of his abiding concern with Byron, less perhaps with the poet capable of inspiring a painter with exalted subjects than with the man of genius whose problems of creation bore some resemblance to his own. Between the years 1850 and 1857 Delacroix read and reread Medwin's *Conversations with Lord Byron* and incorporated lengthy quotations from it in his notebooks<sup>18</sup>. He pondered Byron's methods of composition and even dis-

13. See: ALFRED ROBAUT, *L'Oeuvre complet de Delacroix*, Paris, 1885, no. 202. Hereinafter referred to as ROBAUT. This painting is now in the Potter Palmer Collection, Art Institute of Chicago.

14. See: LOYS DELTEIL, *Ingres et Delacroix*, Paris, 1908, no. 55.

15. ROBAUT, no. 200.

16. ROBAUT, no. 1296.

17. ROBAUT, nos. 683 and 1074.

18. THOMAS MEDWIN, *Conversations with Lord Byron*, London, 1824. The French translation by AMÉDÉE PICHOT, under the title *Les Conversations de lord Byron*, was published in 1824 as an addition to the first edition of PICHOT'S *Oeuvres de lord Byron*, Paris, 1819-1821. While Delacroix's quotations are not literal transcriptions from MEDWIN, a comparative analysis of identical passages in the English and French editions with those in the *Journal* indicates that Delacroix quoted directly from PICHOT'S translation rather than from the English text.

composition as well as the technique may be quite changed. Thus in the case of *The Giaour* we may follow the theme through most of the painter's life. On the 11 May 1824 he noted that he had begun the 'Combat d'Hassan et du Giaour'." This is possibly the painting which he sent to the exhibition in aid of the fund for Greek Relief in 1826 and which apparently was also exhibited at the Salon of 1827<sup>13</sup> (fig. 5). From the latter year there is also a lithograph of the same subject retitled *Mort d'Hassan* or *Grec mort, Episode de la guerre de l'Indépendance*<sup>14</sup> (fig. 6), and the painting, *Episode de la guerre en Grèce*<sup>15</sup> which may well be another version of the *Combat du Giaour et du Pacha*. The latter subject reappears in a similar version in 1856 with only minor variations in detail though painted in the manner of the later

cussed with his devoted servant and companion, Jenny Le Guillou, the question of the effect upon the poet's work and constitution of the quantities of gin he is said to have consumed. As late as the 31 December 1860, only three years before his death, he thought of collecting under one title his lithographs drawn from Byron and Scott.

Given this lifelong preoccupation with the career and work of the English poet, ranging from his early enthusiasm for the violent details of the Oriental poems to his mature concern with the problem of poetic inspiration, we may assume that something more profound than a taste for English letters bound Delacroix to the poet. In contrast to Byron's sudden and international success his own seemed so long in arriving, so hard to procure. In Byron's verses he found, like many another young Romantic, the utterance of his own wayward desires and melancholy dreams. In the history of Byron's battle against hostile public criticism the later Delacroix recognized the counterpart of his own bitter struggle for fame.

### III

Though Delacroix is known to have read much of Byron's work, there is no direct evidence in the *Journal* or Letters as to the language in which he read the poems. In 1824 both the original text and French translations were at hand. Which did he use, and what effect, if any, did the specific edition have upon his work?

There is no doubt that he was familiar with the English language. The first surviving letter of the series to his friend Soulier, who was to teach him the technique of water-color painting, is in English, and indicates that as early as 1818 Soulier was also instructing him in this language<sup>19</sup>. Indeed, at this time their correspondence was at least once tri-lingual to judge from the words, "*I thank you at your Italian-english-french and grateful letter. I conjure you to excuse my bad english language. I dare a little time past with your obligeant (sic) lessons, I will better speak and write in that fair tongue, in which I am so desiderous (sic) to be readily instructed*".

Hesitant as Delacroix's command of English grammar may have been at first, he was able to record progress a few years later after he had come to know four young English artists, the brothers Fielding. Although his most important friendship, that



FIG. 4. — DELACROIX. — The Prisoner of Chillon. — Painting. Louvre, Paris.

<sup>19.</sup> *Correspondance*, I, pp. 37-39. The letters to Soulier of September 1820 and the 21 April 1826 (in part) are also in English.



FIG. 5. — DELACROIX. — The Combat of the Giaour and the Pacha.  
Painting. — The Art Institute of Chicago.

with Richard Parkes Bonington, had begun several years before, possibly as early as 1818, he appears to have known the Fieldings more intimately. The *Journal* for 1823 and 1824 contains many references to them, especially to Thales with whom he shared an apartment in 1823 and whose portrait he painted. During the period from March through June 1824, Delacroix appears to have seen the Fieldings at such frequent intervals that his experience with English finds expression in an entry in the *Journal* in that language.

Since this intimacy with his Eng-

lish friends, his study of the English language, and his enthusiasm for Byron appear to have occurred simultaneously and are most fully documented in the *Journal* for the first six months of 1824, we might presume that Delacroix was reading Byron in English at this period, but of this fact there is no conclusive proof. On the other hand certain entries may even indicate that he was using a French translation, at least of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, unless we are to believe that his aunt, Madame Riesener, was also versed in the English language<sup>20</sup>. Against this supposition is the fact that throughout his life the many quotations in his *Journal* from English literature are almost invariably in French, as are all references to the titles and characters of Byron's poems<sup>21</sup>.

There is, however, one entry in the *Journal*, of considerable interest for the length at which Delacroix sets down his meditations on Byron and on the nature of genius, which possibly provides a clue to this question of the use of translations. On the evening of the 15 May 1824, in a mood of profound distress and discouragement, Delacroix wrote<sup>22</sup>:

*"En lisant la notice sur lord Byron, au commencement du volume, ce matin, j'ai senti encore se réveiller en moi cet insatiable désir de produire. Puis-je dire que ce serait le bonheur pour moi: au moins me le semble-t-il. Heureux poète et plus heureux encore d'avoir une langue qui se plie à ses fantaisies! Au reste, le français*

20. "Expliqué du 'Childe Harold' avec ma tante", *Journal*, I, p. 105; 16 May 1824. The indefinite nature of the remark is typical of his references to the texts at this period. On the 10 May 1824 he had gone to the shop of Schroth, the print dealer, and had read "en partie chez lui le 'Giaour'".

21. Among others, "Condamnés à Venise" (for *Marino Faliero*); "Naufragés" (from *Don Juan*); "Fiancée d'Abydos" and "Mort de Sélim" (from *The Bride of Abydos*); "Mort d'Hassan" and "Combat d'Hassan et du Giaour" (from *The Giaour*).

22. *Journal*, I, pp. 101-104.

*est sublime. Mais il faudrait avoir livré à ce Protée rebelle bien des combats, avant de le dompter.*

*Ce qui fait le tourment de mon âme, c'est sa solitude. Plus la mienne se répand avec les amis et les habitudes ou les plaisirs journaliers, plus il me semble qu'elle m'échappe et se retire dans sa forteresse. Le poète qui vit dans la solitude, mais qui produit beaucoup, est celui qui jouit de ces trésors que nous portons dans notre sein, mais qui se dérobent à nous quand nous nous donnons aux autres. Quand on se livre tout entier à son âme, elle s'ouvre toute à vous, et c'est alors que la capricieuse vous permet le plus grand des bonheurs, celui dont parle la notice, celui inaperçu peut-être de lord Byron et de Rousseau, de la montrer sous mille formes, d'en faire part aux autres, de s'étudier soi-même, de se peindre continuellement dans ses ouvrages".*

First of all we may observe that this is a meditation on a 'notice' which Delacroix had read in the morning, while his remarks were set down much later in the day, probably toward midnight. Since it has been found that even when he is quoting directly from a text in front of him, he permitted himself certain liberties of ellipsis, it is possible that after the lapse of so many hours his recollection of a given passage would differ to some extent from the original context<sup>23</sup>. If we accept this premise, the problem now is to discover the specific text which he had read that morning. We know that it was a commentary on Byron at the beginning of a book, but was it in French or English, and in what edition of Byron's work was it published?

An examination of the various editions of Byron published in France and



FIG. 6. — DELACROIX. — The Combat of the Giaour and the Pacha. — Lithograph.

<sup>23</sup>. See note 18 above.



FIG. 7.—DELACROIX.—The Giaour.—Painting.—Museum of Fine Arts of Algiers, Algiers.

Amédée Pichot wrote an *Essai sur le génie et le caractère de lord Byron* which likewise enjoyed several appearances, but in subsequent editions<sup>26</sup>.

It is my contention that the passage which supplied the inspiration for Dela-

24. That is, in the English editions published in Paris by BAUDRY and GALIGNANI in 1822-1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1831. See H. G. POLLARD's summary in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, Cambridge, 1940, III, pp. 187-212.

25. Pollard in the *Cambridge Bibliography*, III, p. 187, lists it as of 1823-1824, but see J.-M. QUÉRARD, *La France littéraire ou dictionnaire bibliographique*, Paris, 1827, I, p. 581. There is no copy of this edition in the British Museum, The Library of Congress, or the New York Public Library, nor is it described in the standard Byron bibliographies. I assume that the text, except for additional paragraphs written after Byron's death, is substantially the same as that published by Sir Cosmo in book form as *Life and Genius of Lord Byron*, London, 1824.

26. This *Essai* was first published in the first volume of the *Oeuvres de lord Byron. Quatrième édition, entièrement revue et corrigée par A (médée) P(icho)T*, Paris, 1822-1825, pp. iii-clii. This particular volume was not issued until 1823, although the second volume had been published in 1822. See *General Catalogue of Printed Books*, London, British Museum, 1939, XXIX, p. 899. The date of 1823 for the first publication of the *Essai* is further confirmed by PICHOT himself in 1830 in a note added to the seventh edition. See *Oeuvres de lord Byron, traduction de M. AMÉDÉE PICHOT*, Paris, 1830, I, p. ix.

England prior to May 1824 reveals that only the collected English editions published in Paris and the French translations were issued with biographical and critical prefaces. Curiously, however, of the numerous editions of the collected works published in Paris only three separate prefaces are to be found, two of which are in English and one in French. Of the English prefaces that by J. W. Lake was by far the more popular since it appeared six times in the decade from 1822 to 1831<sup>24</sup>. Sir Cosmo Gordon's preface was published but once, in the Baudry edition of 1822-1824<sup>25</sup>. For the fourth edition of his own translation of the collected works

croix's meditation was found by him in Pichot's *Essai* which was also available in this year 1824. This belief is founded less upon an exact concordance between the two texts than upon the assumption that Pichot's concern with the relation between the personal character of the poet and the quality of his poetry closely corresponds with the tenor of Delacroix's thought, particularly at this moment in his life, as it has been revealed in this and preceding entries in the *Journal*.

Toward the close of the second paragraph quoted above, Delacroix, already advanced in his meditation on the relation of the poet to his work, recalls a phrase from the book he had read earlier that day: "Quand on se livre tout entier à son âme, elle s'ouvre toute à vous, et c'est alors que la capricieuse vous permet le plus grand des bonheurs, celui dont parle la notice, celui inaperçu peut-être de Lord Byron et de Rousseau, de la montrer sous mille formes, d'en faire part aux autres, de s'étudier soi-même, de se peindre continuellement dans ses ouvrages".

Pichot's preface, after several paragraphs devoted to the relation between the various aspects of Byron's poetry and the tempestuous events of his life, in the course of which there occur some phrases which might have supplied the occasion for Delacroix's comment on the beauty of the English language, concludes as follows:

"Son individualité revient sans cesse s'offrir à nos pensées; son esprit, comme celui de Lara, nous porte le défi de l'oublier. Cette identité de l'homme et du poète, cette étude de l'âme d'un grand écrivain à travers le voile de la poésie et de la fiction, ont un intérêt bien au-dessus de celui qu'excitent les compositions ordinaires; et je ne sais quel charme suave de la monotonie ce développement continual du même caractère et des mêmes pensées. Telle est la véritable source de l'ascendant qu'exercent sur les hommes qu'ils dédaignent et qu'ils bravent, des écrivains tels que Rousseau et Byron . . . Mais nous allons essayer de suivre dans sa carrière capricieuse cet homme extraordinaire, et apprécier, autant que possible, la liaison qui existe entre ses ouvrages et les autres événements de son existence".

Even without the appearance in both passages of Rousseau's name associated with Byron's, and of the specific word 'capricieuse', though used in different contexts, the intention of the sentences is remarkably similar. Both Delacroix and Pichot are concerned with comprehending the soul of the poet as it is revealed in his work, with realizing the identity of thought and action in Byron's life and poetry.

No such close community of feeling can be traced between Delacroix's remarks and either of the two English prefaces which he might have read. The introduction by J. W. Lake offers a similar remark about Byron and Rousseau and a like comment upon the degree to which their works correspond to their lives, but the character of the prose obviates the possibility of its having inspired in Delacroix a similar train of thought. Sir Cosmo Gordon's *Life and Genius of Lord Byron* was published but once and is almost entirely concerned with vindicating the conduct of the poet in the light of contemporary moral standards. Nowhere is there any indication of the

critical insight which informed Pichot's *Essai* and is reinterpreted in Delacroix's *Journal*.

If, as I have attempted to demonstrate, Delacroix probably read Pichot's *Essai* in its first published form, it follows that he was probably familiar with the other volumes of this fourth edition of Pichot's translation, which was also the first elaborately illustrated edition of Byron's poetry to be published on the Continent. Each of the eight volumes issued between 1822 and 1825 contained an engraved frontispiece and, with the exception of the last two volumes, additional engravings by various French artists after drawings by Richard Westall and Achille Devéria. The latter, just beginning to make a name for himself as an illustrator, was also a friend of Delacroix at this very time<sup>27</sup>. Since Delacroix is known to have visited, at least once, at the house of Devéria, during the period when this edition was in the course of publication, it is not unlikely that Devéria's illustrations were discussed between them.

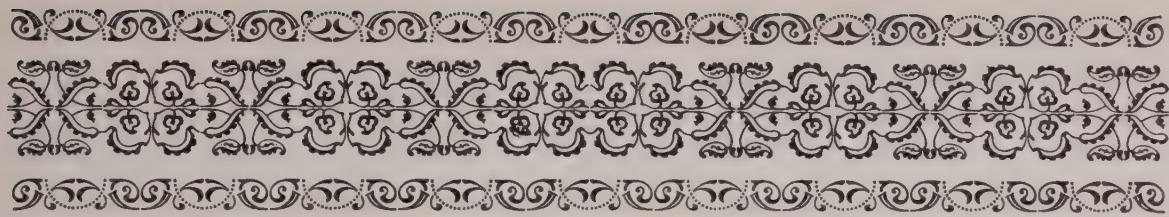
On more than one occasion in the course of his life Delacroix acknowledged that his interest in engravings and other illustrative material was more than merely casual. He made no secret of the fact that such objects were of use to him in solving certain compositional problems, and occasionally offered the complete subject of a painting<sup>28</sup>. This fact, coupled with his acute interest in Byron at this period, suggests that the illustrated edition of 1822-1825 may afford some evidence as to the character of Delacroix's interpretations of Byron at this time.

GEORGE HEARD HAMILTON

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27. See MAXIMILIEN GAUTIER, *Achille et Eugène Devéria*, Paris, 1925, p. 11, for a previously unpublished letter from Delacroix to Achille Devéria dated the 8 October 1824. This letter, in which Delacroix requests two engravings made by Devéria for an edition of Rabelais, is not republished by JOUBIN in the *Correspondance*. GAUTIER omits the illustrations to Byron from the list of works executed by Devéria at this time.

28. For Delacroix's use of engravings at a later date see ELIE LAMBERT, *Delacroix et Rubens: La Justice de Trajan et l'Elévation de la Croix d'Anvers*, "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", per. 6, VIII (1932), pp. 245-248; and A. LINZELER, *Une Source d'inspiration inconnue d'Eugène Delacroix*, "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", per. 6, IX (1933), pp. 309-312.



# RELIGIOUS AMULETS OF EARLY RUSSIAN CHRISTENDOM

**R**USSIAN art of the XI to XIII centuries is the direct product of Greek cultural penetration and the introduction of Christianity as the State religion. With the exception of minor variations in execution, paintings, icons and small religious ornaments worn by all members of the early Church are purely Byzantine in origin. Artisans and builders were imported from Greek cities, and, as cathedrals and churches were erected from foreign design, all remnants of earlier places of worship were ruthlessly destroyed by an autocratic edict. Practically no record of a pre-Christian Russian faith remains.

Yet the newly adopted religion was not orthodox in all its manifestations. For three hundred years after Christianity was officially established in Russia by St. Vladimir in 988, we find that a curious mixture of Christian and pre-Christian symbolism persisted in religious art. This inconsistency seems to have been confined, almost entirely, to small icons and "protective" medallions which were private possessions and were often made by local craftsmen from Byzantine designs. In these

smaller objects, rather than in the sacred relics of the Church, can also be seen the first traces of Russian originality superimposed on Byzantine creations.

The author of this article has recently come into possession of a rather unusual collection of Russian religious relics previously owned by Prince Basil Golitzin of Moscow and, subsequently, by Mrs. Nathalie Scheffer who has added to it considerably. Some of the relics had been already described by Khanenko<sup>1</sup> and Petroff<sup>2</sup>, of The Ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev.

The so-called "protective amulets" are of particular interest to the students of iconography since the first one was discovered in Chernigov as recently as 1821. Nothing can be found in English literature dealing with this subject.

Curiously enough, the first discovery was made of gold which led to an erroneous conclusion of the earlier investigators that the protective medallions were the attribute of the upper caste, — the high dignitaries of State or princes. Subsequent



FIG. 1A. — PANAGIARIA. — Travelling Protective Amulet.



FIG. 1B. — PANAGIARIA. — Travelling Protective Amulet. (Reverse side)

1. B. I. AND V. I. KHANENKO: *Antiquités Russes*, Kiev, 1899.

2. N. I. PETROFF: *Sobranie Leopardova*, Seria II, Kiev.



FIG. 3. — Central Part of Bronze "Zmeevik" Triptych.

vations around Kiev and further South, where Christianity gained its first foothold in Russia. Most of them were made of bronze or copper and usually are in excellent state of preservation.

Figure 3 is a good example of the serpent medallion, or *zmeevik*, and is a product of the XI century. Here we find Christian and pre-Christian influences almost evenly divided, though both are borrowed from the Greeks. One face carries an image of the Holy Virgin of the type of *Our Lady Hodigitria*, in relief. Around the image is a Greek inscription, also in relief, which in translation reads, "*Mother of God Help and Assist Him Who Has Thee — Amen*". A departure from Byzantine pattern is seen in the placement on the carrying piece of the head of Christ, indicating that the medallion is the work of a Russian craftsman.

The presentation on the reverse side of the medallion has no relation to Christian concepts, except in the inscription. It pictures a human head, from which issue twelve serpents, coiling outward and striking inward toward the head with open fangs. Each serpent is supposed to represent twelve evil spirits, each of which has the control of one twelfth of the human body<sup>3</sup>. The head of the Medusa, unlike the Medusa of Greek Mythology, actually has hair and is supposed to represent a human head surrounded by evil spirits. Around the figure is an inscription which in translation reads: "*Holy Holy ... Lord of Hosts ... Heaven ... Full*". Mistakes in spelling and peculiarities in text add to the evidence that this is not a purely Byzantine piece of work.

It is generally accepted by authorities on iconography that the serpent head represents Medusa who, according to Greek mythology, was the most terrible of the three Gorgons. Minerva, after she had ordered Medusa decapitated, adopted the head as her coat of arms and placed it on her shield, which thereafter could transform

studies have shown that the usage of these amulets was fairly widespread and that, as a matter of fact, gold was a very unusual material.

The three medallions now discussed are typical mementos of the pre-Mongolian period (X to XIII century). Several similar ones had been discovered in excavations

3. PIPER, *Mythology and Symbolism*, vol. II, p. 31.

her enemies into stone<sup>4</sup>.

The Medusa symbol became a favorite of the ancient Greeks who attributed to it the power to avert illness and thwart sorcery. It is commonly found on amulets or philacetalia worn around the neck, a custom also practiced by the Jews who used, instead of metal objects, strips of parchment or textile bearing quotations from the Law. The philacetalia of the Jews were prescribed to the Tribes of Israel by Moses as recorded in *Exodus*, 13, 9, 16. They are also mentioned in the *Gospel*, *Matthew* XXIII, 5 - 6.

The Christians replaced the amulets of the ancient Greeks and the Philacetalia of the Jews with crosses and small icons made in various shapes and worn suspended from the neck. The Greek Christians, however, clung for a time to ancient symbols while also adopting those of the new faith. Both forms of imagery were introduced into Russia<sup>5</sup>.

Figure no. 3, which is characteristic of "protective" amulets of the XII century, is the central part of a small bronze triptych made in the shape of a church cupola and portrays on one side a favorite early Russian Christian theme, that of Saint Nacetas smiting the Devil<sup>6</sup>.

Legend tells that the Devil, in the form of a quadruped with hairs bristling from the head, came to tempt Saint Nacetas in a prison dungeon where he had been thrown by his father, the Emperor Maximillian, for his refusal to abandon the Christian faith. As Saint Nacetas prayed to his Christian God, the chains which bound him dropped to the floor whereupon Saint Nacetas turned upon the Devil and lashed him with the loosened chains. In this act he is pictured on the medallion. No inscription is present except the words "Saint Nacetas".

On the reverse side of the medallion, the image of Saint Theodore Tiro appears in the lower left-hand corner in another protective motif. The saint is pictured in the act of repelling a serpent, the form taken by the Devil which spirited away his mother, according to legend. The accompanying inscription bears the words, "Theodore and Mother of Theodore Tiro"<sup>7</sup>.

So far the symbolism is wholly Christian in origin, but in the circle above Saint Theodore Tiro appears, this time without inscription, the ancient Medusa symbol. Thus though both sides of the medallion, instead of only one as in Figure No. 1, show predominant Christian influence, an earlier concept still persists.

The Church, unwilling to tolerate what it considered remnants of pagan wor-

4. E. GOLUBINSKII: *Istoria Russkoi Tserkvi*, vol. I, part 2, Moscow, 1904. *Period pervyi Kievskii ili Domongol'skii*.

5. COUNT A. S. UVAROV: *Vizantiiskiia filakterii i Russkiia nauzy*, in: "Sbornik Melkikh Trudov", vol. I, p. 239-258, Moscow, 1910.

6. D. I. PROZOROVSKII: *O drevnikh medalionakh naazyvaemykh zmeevikami*, in: "Khristianskia Drevnosti i Arkheologiya", izd PROKHOROVA, 1877, part 2, p. 1-46, ill., Moscow.

7. *Drevnosti Rossiiskago Gosudarstva*: Moscow, 1849, vol. I-II.



FIG. 3. — Copper Serpent Medallion or "Zmeevik".

ship and superstition, worked unceasingly to destroy recognition of all but Christian images<sup>8</sup> and pre-Christian symbols at last disappeared gradually from religious art.

Typical of the religious pendants approved by the Church is Figure No. 1, known as a *panagiaria*. The *panagiaria* was modelled from the *panagia*, a single medallion worn by bishops over their vestments and bearing in most cases the image of the Virgin. The name *panagia* means: "Most Blessed" and took on the implied meaning, "Mother of God". The *panagiaria* (travelling *panagia*) was a double medallion. It closed like a locket and was used to hold the holy bread or other holy religious relics which believers were accustomed to carry with them on long journeys<sup>9</sup>.

According to legend the presentation of the bread of the Blessed Virgin was a custom introduced by the Apostles. The rite, as later adopted by the Byzantine Court, is described by Codius. A similar rite was introduced into Russia with other Christian ritual and was performed until the XVI Century, not only at the

8. DOMOSTROI, *Imperial Society of History and Antiquities of Russia*, with foreword by I. ZABELIN, Moscow, 1882, p. 22.

9. E. GOLUBINSKII, *op. cit.*

Court of the Tsars but also in private homes on all important occasions<sup>10</sup>. It was customary to carry away from the ceremony a fragment of the holy bread in a small locket or *panagiaria* of the type pictured in Figure No. 1.

On the cover of this *panagiaria* is portrayed the Crucifixion with four bystanders. The cross is obscured by the green enamel of the background which overflows part of the central design. This is probably the result of faulty workmanship. The inscription reads: *Thou art more honorable than the cherubim.*

Inside the locket on the right is depicted the Trinity of the Old Testament (apparition of three angels before Abraham). The surrounding inscription reads: *By acquiring the Truth of Heaven one acquires the Faith of the Righteous.* References to the Holy Trinity in relation to the ceremony of the *panagiaria* can be found in the chants of the Church.

On the left inner surface of the locket is the image of the Blessed Virgin of the composition called *Our Lady of the Sign*<sup>11</sup> with the following inscription: *It is truly meet to call thee blessed who didst bear God the everblessed and most pure and Mother of our God. Thou art more honorable than the cherubim...* This prayer<sup>12</sup> was an established part of the ritual for presentation of the bread of the Blessed Virgin.

By the XIII Century all symbols but those of the Greek Orthodox Church had been discarded, except in rare cases, and no hint of earlier influences remained in religious art except as they have been incorporated into the imagery of the Christian faith. In later years protective pendants disappeared completely. The *panagia* was retained as a symbol by high ecclesiastics and the pendants were replaced by pectoral crosses of decorative design<sup>13</sup>.

EUGENE DE SAVITSCH

10. N. I. PETROFF: *Album Dostoprimechatelnosti Tserkovno-Arkheologicheskago Muzeia pri Imp. Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii*, Kiev, 1915, part 4 and 5.

N. I. TROITSKII: *Artsnaiia Panagiia Moldavskago voevody i gospodaria Stefana Tomshi iz sobraniia gr. Uvarova*, in: "Drevnosti, Trudy Moskovskago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva", Moscow, 1907, vol. XXI, p. 48.

COUNT A. S. UVAROV: *Opisanie trekh panagii iz Chertkovskago sobraniia*, in: "Sbornik melkikh trudov", Moscow, 1910, vol. I, p. 283.

*Drevnosti Rossiiskago Gosudarstva*: Moscow, 1849, I-II, *Panagiia Artsnaiia*.

11. E. GOLUBINSKII, *op. cit.*, 1. *Domashniaia i lichnaia sviatynia*, p. 478; 2. *Bogosluzhebnyia prinadlezhnosti*, p. 275.

12. N. TROITSKY: *Tserkovn. Arkh. pamiatniki*, in: "Drevnosti, Trudy Mosk. Ark. Obshch.", Moscow, 1886, pp. 23-24.

13. G. GOLUBINSKII, *op. cit.*

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# A RUBENS PROBLEM

## I

### THE REAPPEARANCE OF A "RUBENS" IN THE WALKER ART CENTER AT MINNEAPOLIS

**I**N the summer of 1939 the Walker Art Gallery of Minneapolis became the Walker Art Center. A complete transformation of policy revealed itself in a thorough reappraisal of the collection and in the subsequent modern installation designed for educational purposes. The reorganiza-

tion was the result of the combined efforts of the T. B. Walker Foundation, the Minnesota Art Project of the WPA and the Minnesota Arts Council.

During the period of preparation, several heavily repainted pictures were temporarily removed from the galleries until proper restoration could be made.

X-ray photographs taken of these works indicated that in many instances pictures of good quality were hidden under modern repaint. In the spring of 1941, the Center was fortunate enough to secure the services of Mrs. Ingrid Held, of New York, as a restorer. Under her skilled hand some of these repainted works were restored to their original state merely by cleaning. Others, with older layers of repaint, required more time and careful labor. Several have yet to be restored.

Perhaps the most interesting and important work which came to light after restoration was a *Holy Family* (fig. 1) which, before restoration, as a *Virgin and Child and St. John*, had been attributed to Rubens (fig. 2). At first glance the style and obvious newness of much of the painted surface made the attribution seem completely absurd. The hair of the Christ Child was neatly combed in bangs, while his square shoulders and purposeful expression gave him the "sturdy little man" appearance so prized by our late Victorian ancestors.



FIG. 1. — P. P. RUBENS and WILLIAM PANNEELS. — The Holy Family (Restored). — Walker Art Center, Minneapolis.



FIG. 2. — P. P. RUBENS AND WILLIAM PANNEELS. — Virgin, Child and St. John. — The Holy Family (before restoration).

On close inspection, however, some areas, mainly the face of the Virgin, appeared to consist of older and better painting. Because of this, an x-ray photograph was taken of the weakest segment, the Christ Child (fig. 3). The shadowgraph showed clearly that the original head, which had been completely repainted, was still in excellent condition and was definitely in the style of Rubens. Finally an old photograph was found showing the painting before the Christ Child had been redone, although it also showed that other sections had already suffered

stretchers. Then followed the most delicate work — the removal of two new canvases, cleaning of the original and then final relining and repair of a few damaged parts.

The result of weeks of painstaking work, however, was well worth while. In a gallery which is not very rich in paintings of the Flemish school of the 17th century, the picture in its new appearance represents this period very well indeed, even though, as is shown below, it can only be attributed in part to Peter Paul Rubens himself.

J. LEROY DAVIDSON.

retouching.

Since the under-painting appeared to be in excellent condition, it was decided to clean the picture. The combination of old and new repaint required careful rubbing with solvents as well as almost microscopic chipping of tiny flakes of paint. First the heads of the Christ Child and St. John appeared. As had been expected, these were found to be in fine condition. But surprise on surprise occurred when, in addition, St. Joseph and a different tree appeared and later a child was discovered offering fruit to the Virgin.

Meanwhile the character of the painting underwent an amazing transformation. The dull pinks of the skin were translated into the pearly flesh tones of Rubens. Flabby drawing became firm and rich textures supplanted a monotony of surface. The size and proportions of the picture also underwent a change. It was found that the original canvas had been increased in height and cut down at the sides, although some of the original painting at the side had been preserved where it had been bent over the stretchers. Then followed the most delicate work — the removal of two new canvases, cleaning of the original and then final relining and repair of a few damaged parts.

## II

## THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *HOLY FAMILY* IN THE WALKER ART CENTER

The picture in the Walker Art Center was called a "Rubens" even when repaint and other forms of deterioration had disfigured its appearance. The cleaning and restoration described above by Mr. Davidson have recovered most of the original character and the old attribution, seemingly quite arbitrary with regard to the former state of the painting, now appears to be sufficiently close to the truth to deserve serious attention.

It is certain that the picture in its present form, despite successful restoration and surprising discoveries, is not as it was originally. It was obviously at one time cut down from a somewhat larger canvas which was probably a rectangle wider than high. The *putto* at the left who is tendering fruits to the Virgin was hardly conceived in such a fragmentary state as he now appears. In fact, the most plausible explanation for the strange overpainting, which had completely covered the *putto* and Joseph, is the assumption that for some reason, perhaps to fit it into a given space or frame or because it had been damaged, the picture was cut at the left. The angel, divided awkwardly in two by this operation and hence disturbing to the eye, was then painted out. Since this figure had compositionally balanced the figure of Joseph on the other side, the picture now appeared lopsided. The simplest device to restore the aesthetic equilibrium was to paint out Joseph, too. One has only to imagine the type of artist who executed such a job, to understand why he did not resist the temptation to go on with "improvements" and to make bloodless non-entities out of sensuous Flemish cherubs.

There is still better proof for the assumption that the composition was originally wider, espe-

cially at the left. In the collection of Professor Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., at Washington Crossing, Pa., there is a fairly large sheet with drawings, also attributed to Rubens, which is closely connected with the picture in Minneapolis<sup>1</sup>.

On one side of the sheet there is a study for a *Death of Procris* in pure pen-drawing; on the other, two studies for the *Holy Family* (fig. 4). The drawing at the right shows an effort to arrange the figures close together into something like a pyramidal group, while the sketch at the left strings them out in the manner of a relief. This latter drawing, the only one to which wash was applied for pictorial effect, is so close to the Minneapolis picture that it appears to be a final sketch, but not close enough to be suspect as a copy. Here, then, we see the figure

1. Paper,  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$  inches. I am indebted to Professor Mather for information and for permission to publish the photograph. The drawing bears the mark of the collection of Sir Joshua Reynolds.



FIG. 3. — P. P. RUBENS AND WILLIAM PANNEELS. — The Holy Family. — Walker Art Center, Minneapolis. — Shadowgraph of a detail (before restoration).

of the *putto* at the left free from overlapping, with a generous margin for some roughly indicated trees. The position of Joseph is slightly at variance with the painting in Minneapolis and the heavy tree trunk in the upper right corner of the painting is still lacking in the drawing.

If we take the drawing in Professor Mather's collection to be a sketch for the picture, the problem of authorship appears to be more pressing than ever. For, despite the present attribution, the drawing does not show Rubens' hand. Its style is sufficiently "Rubenesque" to make the attribution understandable, but the line is hesitant and at times somewhat clumsy, lacking Rubens' power of suggestion. There is to consider, besides, that the composition is not entirely original. The group of Christ and St. John with the lamb is almost literally lifted from one of Rubens' well known compositions, the *Holy Family* in the collection of Lord Lonsdale at Lowther Castle. The picture which we reproduce in a print by Schelte a Bolswert must have been very popular (fig. 5). It was engraved several times and there is a repetition in the Pitti Palace, not to mention various school versions. One of these variations was engraved by G. Panneels and is described by Rooses as

follows: "Dans celle (la planche) de Panneels un ange qui présente à la Vierge un panier de fruits est ajouté; Ste. Elisabeth est omise, mais il s'y trouve un St. Joseph, appuyé contre un arbre". Present conditions made it impossible to secure a photograph of this print of which no copy appears to be in this country, but it is clear that it agrees perfectly with the picture in the Walker Art Center. Since no other painting is known to exist which answers this description as well, one is entitled to assume that the Minneapolis painting is actually that which Panneels engraved.

Panneels' engraving (Dutuit 45) is inscribed with the somewhat unusual address, "Ex Inv. Rubeni fe. Discip. eius Giulim. Panneels", which we might translate freely as, "On the basis of an invention by Rubens, G. Panneels his pupil made this picture". The inscription suggests that Panneels was not only the engraver but also the author of the design, since the term "fecit" would hardly have been chosen to indicate only the activity of the engraver (*scindere*) and the lengthy and circumstantial information would make little sense if it did not pertain to something more important than the more or less mechanical contribution of the burin.



FIG. 4. — Two pen studies for the Holy Family of the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis.  
Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., Collection, Washington Crossing, Pa.

Of William Panneels we have a few general dates. He was born in 1600 A.D. and was Rubens' pupil from about 1624 to 1630. During that time he enjoyed the confidence of the master to such an extent that he was charged with the management of the house during Rubens' prolonged travels in the late 1620's. Panneels later left for Cologne and after 1632 he disappeared from sight. Aside from these biographical facts and the small number of engravings known by him, there are in existence drawings done by the artist in the Musée Plantin-Moretus and in the Print Room at the Kunstmuseet in Copenhagen<sup>2</sup>. A comparison of the sheet in the Mather collection with these drawings, while not furnishing conclusive evidence for the identity of the author, at least is positive enough to lend some weight to such an assumption. If Panneels were the author of the drawing in Washington Crossing, the probability is strong that he was also the painter of the Minneapolis picture.

The style of the picture, indeed, clearly reflects the style of Rubens' workshop of the 1620's. There is a pictorial looseness of texture which Rubens himself reached only during his work on the cycle for Mary of Medici. The lucidity and transparency of the flesh colors, the broadly painted foliage, the bold touches of the brush in the face of Joseph are not found in Rubens' work before this period. However, a closer analysis of the painting in its present state, especially with regard to these parts, reveals a curious phenomenon. The quality of the execution is not only uneven, as, for example, between the somewhat flat treatment of the face of the Virgin and the sparkling color on the bodies of the children, but there are obvious corrections applied with a deft, sure and vigorous brush on top of a design which is less inspired and more "plodding" in character. It can be observed, for instance, that the right hand of St. John was first done in the same lean proportions as those of the Virgin and that its present chubby character is due to a "touching up" with a few yellow and red dashes which miraculously created something alive and vibrant out of a much less impressive beginning. These "re-touchings" with highlights and transparent glazes are particularly in evidence on the bodies of the children and the lamb, in the figure of Joseph, and in parts of the landscape. One case, which can be noticed in our reproductions, is particularly instruc-



FIG. 5. — SCHELTE A. BOLSWERT. — Engraving after the Holy Family of the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis.

tive (figs. 4, 6). If one compares the sleeve over St. John's left arm as it appears in the Mather drawing with the same part in the Minneapolis picture, one sees that in the drawing its outline toward the left is bulging in a single, flaccid curve drawn by a repetition of a few lines, while in the painting the outline consists of protruding and receding forms so that the sleeve has a profile full of character and linear tension. However, one can still clearly see underneath the present surface that originally the sleeve had been painted exactly as sketched in the drawing, and that its visible outline is the result of an afterthought or a correction by a hand more sensitive to the rhythm of line than that which had done the drawing. While such observations tend to strengthen the connection between the drawing in the Mather collection and the Minneapolis picture, they also pose new problems. If Panneels — or for that matter any other pupil of Rubens — is credited with the drawing and the first "draft" of the painting, is he also the author of those final touches,

2. G. FALCK, *En Rubenseleus tegninger*, in: "Kunstmuseets Aarskrift", V, 1918, 64-77.

flashes of genius, which give to the surface of the painting in the Walker Art Center an undeniable fascination? Can he be the author of the tender reflecting lights on the cheek of St. John or on the legs of Christ? Of the golden highlights on their curls? Of the granular strands of hair and the bronzed colors of the skin of Joseph? Of the boldly sketched folds of the children's shirts and the accents which bring the foliage to life without giving anything else but a mere suggestion of form?

We do know from more than one record that Rubens had the habit of retouching works of his pupils. The most revealing document in that respect is a letter by Rubens to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated April 28, 1618 (Rooses T-Ruelens II, 137). In that letter he lists pictures which he wants to give in exchange for a collection of antiques. He describes some of these pictures as follows:

"A Last Judgment; begun by one of my pupils after one which I made in much larger size for the Prince of Neuburg who paid me 3500 Florins. Since this picture is not finished, I shall retouch it (ritoccare) entirely with my hand and in that way it can pass as an original (Passare per originale). — A Hunt, begun by one of my pupils . . . after one which I did for the Duke of Bavaria, but entirely retouched by my hand. — Twelve Apostles with Christ, made by my disciples . . . which will be retouched by my own hand all over (in tutto e per tutto). — One picture of Achilles dressed as a woman, painted by my best pupil, the whole retouched by my hand . . . — A Susanna, made by one of my pupils but entirely retouched by my hand".

Could it be that the "Rubens" of the Walker Art Center is such a picture: done by a pupil and retouched by the Master? Its curious retouches, which are of a quality superior to the rest of the picture and quite unexpected considering the unimpressive showing of the preparatory drawing of the Mather collection, would thus be explained quite simply as the work of Rubens himself. If this be the case — and I feel strongly that it is, since it accounts satisfactorily for some otherwise strange features, particularly the high quality of many parts of the painting — we might ask who, then, was the true author of the painting? Was it the pupil, gifted though without genius, who had adopted, with some measure of success, a technique close to the master; or Rubens himself who lent the magic of his brush to finish the surface? Is it not perhaps a picture of which Rubens would have

said, "It can pass as an original of my hand"? It is futile to expect a neat distinction of the parts actually played by each artist in the execution of such a work. One cannot express in terms of percentage how much of the actual appearance is due to one or the other. That a considerable part — quantitatively speaking the larger part — was done by the pupil seems only natural. But any visitor who feels impressed and rewarded by the warm glow and vibrant language of the *Holy Family* may, on good grounds, give credit for his sensation of pleasure to the great Antwerp master himself<sup>3</sup>.

JULIUS S. HELD.

3. There is a very crudely painted copy of the composition of the Minneapolis picture in the collection of the Barnes Foundation at Merion, Pa. (No. 849). It is mentioned in Barnes' book on Renoir (pp. 187, 190, 209) as an exception to Rubens' method to "fabricate a counterfeit of flesh mainly by superficial color and by a specious, undulating linear contour". However, the little picture is obviously not an exceptional Rubens but no Rubens at all.



FIG. 6. — P. P. RUBENS AND WILLIAM PANNEELS. — The Holy Family (after restoration). Detail: Christ and St. John. — Walker Art Center, Minneapolis.

# NOTES ON PRINTS

## CEZANNE'S LITHOGRAPH

### *THE SMALL BATHERS*

**T**HE renowned names of Delacroix and Dufy serve to designate the two extremes of a period of rich productivity in the saga of French art. They mark an epoch during which men of fresh genius and daring temperament sought and developed new forms of artistic expression. The painters who were active during those years, and the sculptors as well, all made some excursions into the realm of print-making.

We find that the "Oeuvre Gravé" of Cézanne, together with that of van Gogh, and Sisley, was the smallest of the French "Peintres Graveurs". Indeed, Venturi, in his comprehensive work on Cézanne, lists but three etchings and as many lithographs by the artist. The three etchings, which are very slight works, were probably achieved through the insistence of Dr. Gachet. The lithographs are the product of Vollard's initiative. They consist of a *Self portrait* done in black and white and two plates in colour, the *Small Bathers* and the *Large Bathers*.

Our present purpose is to call attention to a recently discovered state of the *Small Bathers*. This lithograph appeared in Vollard's second *Album d'Estampes Originales de la Galerie Vollard* which was published in December 1897. Happily, the estate of Vollard has yielded a first state of it which was heretofore quite unknown. We reproduce — for the first time, we believe — one of these proofs and also one of the second state which appeared in the above publication.

If a *Catalogue Raisonné* were in preparation this

print might conceivably have the following entry:

**THE SMALL BATHERS (*Les Petits Baigneurs*).**

Lithograph in colour (black, blue, gray, yellow, green, pink), published in 1897 by Vollard, printed by Clot.

*1st state.* Before publication. On loose China paper, broad margins. 235 mm. x 294 mm. (composition)

The edges of the composition are uneven. Three dots are visible in the center of right and left margin (for registration purposes).

*2nd state.* As published (100 proofs) in the *Album d'Estampes Originales de la Gallerie Vollard*.

The composition has been reduced to 224 mm. x 275 mm. Printed on China paper laid down on heavy white paper. The edges of the composition have been made even. Various slight modifications in the colour printing. Some proofs signed (probably by Cézanne's son).

Venturi mentions proofs in black and proofs with watercolour.

In the first state the composition has a looser and less crowded appearance.

Concerning Clot, the printer of this lithograph, much discussion has centered. That he was an extremely able printer is obvious from the fact that he pulled nearly all of the prints for Vollard's second *Album* and many others for Renoir, Redon, Bonnard, Vuillard, Signac and such artists. A theory has been current that Clot made the stones for

Cézanne's *Small Bathers* after a water colour drawing by the artist. However, I was informed by the well known American print expert living in France, Mr. Atherton Curtis, that Clot had told him that the actual drawing on the stone for the *Small Bathers* had been done by Cézanne himself.

Vollard's second *Album* obviously has interest in this connection. It was an edition of 100 proofs which sold for four hundred francs, at the time of its publication in 1897 this would represent about eighty dollars. It contained thirty-two prints by thirty-one artists (because Bonnard had two lithographs in colour), done in various media, in colour and in black and white. The following distin-



FIG. 1 — PAUL CEZANNE, *The Small Bathers*. — Lithograph in colour. First state before publication.

guished names form the list of contributing artists: Aman-Jean, Auriol, Bonnard, Carrière, Cottet, Cross, Cézanne, Denis, Eliot, Fantin-Latour, de Feure, Forain, Grasset, Guillaumin, Leheurtre, Lewishon, Lunois, Martin, Maurin, Lucien Pissarro, Puvis de Chavannes, Redon, Rodin, Roussel, Shannon, Simon, Sisley, de Toulouse Lautrec, Vuillard, Wagner, and Whistler.



FIG. 2. — PAUL CEZANNE, *The Small Bathers*. — Second state as published after reduction of the composition.

Lautrec contributed his well known lithograph in colour *Partie de Campagne* (L. Delteil, 219), also known as *The Dog Cart*. Redon was represented by his *Beatrice* (A. Mellerio, 168), one of the two lithographs he ever made in colour. The only important print executed by Sisley, *Les Oies* (L. Delteil, 6), was included.

The January 1898 issue of "L'Estampe Nouvelle" carried a description of the exhibition of the *Album* at Vollard's Gallery. Two illustrations appeared with this article, Cézanne's *Bathers* and Whistler's *Afternoon Tea* (Way, 147). Cézanne received the following criticism of his work: "By Cézanne: a few figures strangely built, although with a certain strength and unfinished grandeur, as in nearly all his work".

It is interesting to compare this contemporary appraisal of Cézanne with that by Zola and to observe the analogy.<sup>1</sup>

JEAN GORIANY

1. See J. REWALD'S excellent book, *Cézanne et Zola*.

C. G.

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

*DIONYSIAC SARCOPHAGI IN BALTIMORE*, by KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN and ERLING C. OLSEN. 82 p., 44 pl. Baltimore, 1942. (Joint Publication of Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1942.)

This monograph is not only a publication of the group of sarcophagi in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore but includes a most illuminating discussion of the Bacchic Mystery Cult of Dionysos-Sabazios as well as a detailed study of comparative material in what the author calls the "late-antique" period of Roman sculpture,—that is, the first four centuries A.D.

The importance of a study of these sarcophagi is increased by the fact that they form part of a "closed" group of monuments from a private cemetery, records of whose excavation have been kept and all but one of the sarcophagi preserved. Ten sarcophagi were discovered in two underground burial chambers near the Porta Pia in Rome and have been identified as belonging to several generations of the Roman family of the Calpurnii Pisones. Of the ten sarcophagi an undecorated one was broken up at the time of the excavations, two are in the National Museum in Rome and seven are in the Walters Collection.

A common religious idea in the subject matter of their relief decoration unites all the sarcophagi and shows that they were undoubtedly produced or members of a bacchic cult-community,—the cult of Dionysos-Sabazios. The group illustrates the basic creeds of a community which, because of its secret character, is not described in literary sources. On four of these sarcophagi are represented mythological subjects dealing with the birth of Dionysos-Sabazios, his growth and death, his triumphant appearance in this world, his marriage to Ariadne, and his permanent victory over evil and death, while on the other sarcophagi appear details which are closely connected with Dionysos, such as the panther type of griffins, Bacchic masks, cymbals, detached animal heads, *cistae mysticae*, torches, a *baetylus* as a cult object, and dolphins, as well as the plastic masks decorating the corners of the lids.

All nine sarcophagi belong to the "Latin" type with a principal relief on one long side and secondary reliefs on each end. Wherever the lids have been preserved there is a relief frieze on the face with masks or heads set diagonally at the corners. The reliefs have been carefully studied by the authors "as documents of the creeds of a particular mystery religion and as illustration of a

process of change and transformation in artistic style from the age of Hadrian to that of the Severi. In both cases the series prove to be of unique value; for its coherence, continuity, and high quality have few or no parallels among ancient monuments of this class." The dating and arranging in chronological order of the sarcophagi has been done by comparison of the size, type of marble, and style of lid, as well as of the technical execution and of the parallel usage of figures appearing here and on other well known Roman sarcophagi. The series of the tomb of the Calpurnii must be dated from about the middle of the II century A.D. to the early years of the III century. The scenes represented undoubtedly go back to a common source for the representation of religious legends, perhaps to wall paintings, as it is known that frescoes illustrating these legends were used in the Sabazios communities as well as in other mystery cults. These sarcophagi are not the products of the ordinary Roman workshops but are individual works of gifted artists whose services only a great and wealthy family could command. This may easily be verified by the reader if he turns to the magnificent reproductions provided in the plates at the end of the monograph.

ELIZABETH PIERCE BLEGEN.

*PERSONAGENS PORTUGUESAS DO SÉCULO XVII* — Academia Nacional de Belas Artes — Lisbon, 1942, 10 x 8, 32 p. 89 pl.

This is the catalogue of one of the few artistic events in Europe since the War, the second in a series of national exhibitions of the Portuguese Academy of Fine Arts to analyze period by period the neglected though distinguished art of that country. Coming as a sequel to the Academy's far reaching and truly magnificent 1940 Exhibition of Primitives, which covered the XV and XVI centuries, the second showing was a smaller exhibition devoted to an even less familiar aspect of the national art, Portuguese painting of the XVII century. In the words of the Academy's president, REYNALDO DOS SANTOS, who wrote the concise, revealing introduction to the catalogue, the exhibition was limited to the portrait, the least accessible and the most original element of XVII century Portuguese painting. Because it lacked the great artistic names of the Renaissance and the XVIII century, the period has long been passed over as uninteresting. The truth is that in the XVII century, Spain attracted from Portugal the most promising artists as well as writers, who preferred to work for the grander pub-

lic and richer earnings of Madrid. Having lost the Coelhos, Manoel Pereira and Velázquez (through the emigration of his parents), what did Portuguese painting retain of its former grandeur in the XVII century? To discover this was the principal aim of the exhibition. The 82 paintings and 46 miniatures, taken for the most part from unknown private collections prove that many a good man remained behind.

Specifically, the exhibition revealed the following. At the beginning of the period Spanish influence was strong, probably as a consequence of the temporary union of the two crowns. There was a vogue for the stiff, standing portrait à la Pantoja de la Cruz which developed into skillful imitation of Velázquez's less schematized mode (*Portrait of Félix Machado de Castro e Vasconcelos*). The striking *Head of Luiz Gomes da Mata* is pure Greco of the middle period. By the close of the century, however, French models were preferred as they were in Spain and indeed throughout Europe, and Portugal was entering a period of imitation of Largillière and Watteau, concurrent with the presence of the latter's pupil, Quillard, in Lisbon.

It was rather during the years between 1635 and 1685 that the Portuguese school had its most original expression, when a small group of now identified masters was at work. Chief among these was Domingos Vieira, called O Escuro, to whom the famous picture of a *Lady in a quilted hood* (*D. Isabel Moira*) at the Lisbon Museum, can now be attributed. Around this likeness are grouped five other paintings, each revealing the same almost Impressionist freshness of color, penetrating pose, and subtle drawing. Each face has the heavy dark brows and pale full lips of the Portuguese type. His standing *Portrait of D. Margarida Moreira*, which may be the *trouvaile* of the show, is arch and gay yet perfectly serene, like the Venetian *settecento*, in the midst of the rigorous dignity of the XVII century. Vieira's contemporary, José Avelar Rebélo, is represented by his well known grand portrait of John IV from the Biblioteca Nacional. Unfortunately to his *œuvre* no new works could be added.

On the other hand, several new personalities emerge through the exhibition. One is a Marquês de Montebelo, represented by portraits of himself and family, whose intimate style is enhanced by soft *sfumato* outlines, which Dos Santos believes he absorbed from the Sevillian Ruelas. One Miguel António carries on the old electrifying "Mediterranean" portraiture of Nuno Gonçalves in his pictures of French nuns. António Oliveira and António Pereira are bland and skillful limners. Around these men revolve a company of unknown masters, best of whom seem to be the authors of a *Portrait of a magistrate* and a moody painting of *Catharine of Braganza*, both of which are at Evora.

The exhibition was held in the historic XVII century Lisbon Almada Palace, recently restored as a museum of the 1640 Independence and was completed by a selection of other works of the period in different genres including a fine *Still life* by Josefa de Obidos from Santarem.

Another contribution of the Academy to the study of

Portuguese art, less spectacular than the exhibitions but of equal value, is the publication of the "Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas Artes." When a few years ago DR. DOS SANTOS assumed the presidency, the Academy's "Bulletin", like many another of its adjuncts, was moribund. To him is largely due the renewed life of the "Bulletin" as well as the Academy's other activities, and its program of publishing carefully documented and clearly illustrated new discoveries in Portuguese art.

The last issues of this periodical to be received here, numbers 8 and 9, corresponding to 1941, contain a series of studies that shed new light on important aspects of the art of Portugal. REYNALDO DOS SANTOS in *O retabulo de Freixa-de-Espada-à-Cinta* attributes this polyptych to the second period of Vasco Fernandes' activity, the 1520's, when he painted the well known *Cook Pietà*. JOAO COUTO, director of the Lisbon Museu de Arte Antiga, writes of four recently acquired *Panels of the life of St. Catharine* that open new possibilities of study of the XVI century ateliers — the *parcerias* — of Lisbon. VIRGILIO CORREIA assigns three more statues to the work of Jean de Rouen, a XVI century Frenchman who worked in the region of Coimbra — three polychrome figures of the Virgin, from Gatoes, Castanheira, and Castelo de Penela. Four statues of male saints from the Madrid Convent of San Plácido, attributed to the XVII century Portuguese sculptor Manoel Pereira, are published by Diego de Macêdo; while Luiz Xavier da Costa, turning to the XIX century, reconstructs from drawings the lost painting *Death of Camoës* which Domingos António de Sequeira exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1824. Other articles of secondary importance are contributed by such corresponding members of the Academy as EUGENIO D'ORS (*La arquitectura en las obras de los primitivos portugueses*); MYRON M. JIRMOUNSKY (*La révélation de l'ancienne peinture portugaise et les problèmes qu'elle pose*); CHARLES OULMONT (*Remarques sur les primitifs portugais*); and ROBERT SMITH (*Some eighteenth century architectural drawings in Lisbon*).

ROBERT C. SMITH.

James J. Rorimer. — *Mediaeval monuments at the Cloisters*. As they were and as they are. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art). New York 1941. 14 x 11, 15p., XXVIII pl.

In 1938, when the present building of the Cloisters collections was opened, an entire page of our weekly art-newspaper "Beaux-Arts" was devoted to this event. This most unusual and highly educational museum is of great value for our studies, for the American student, and for the enjoyment of visitors in the city to whom a wiser employment of their leisure time could hardly be provided.

The present volume is a compelling invitation to those who have not yet made a pilgrimage to the Cloisters. It is an excellent souvenir for the pilgrims on their way back and one which, by them as well as by scholars all over the world, should be kept with the finest records of mediaeval art studies.

It must have been a hard task for the distinguished curator of this museum, a scholar to whom each detail and nuance of this field of research are dear, to bring forth such a general study of the collections entrusted to his subtle care without using all the extensive material he never ceases to gather on a subject of which nothing known or still to be known is ignored by him. It is always harder for a scholar to condense his theme into a few pages for popular use than to write an extensive dissertation upon it. Mr. Rorimer has overcome perfectly this difficulty. His text will delight any reader; it is as light as it should be for the ordinary reader; it has, for the more inquisitive one, all the weight of its background.

The monuments studied here, as they were, in their native lands and as they are now presented on the soil of the cloisters, are: the Cuxa, St. Guilehm-le-Désert, Trie and Bonnefont-en-Comminges cloisters; the chapter house of the abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Pontaut; the arcade from the Benedictine priory of Frouville and four windows from the convent of the Dominicans at Sens; the doorways of the late Romanesque or

early Gothic church at Reugny and of the monastery of Moutiers-Saint-Jean (which the author ascribes to "the period of most extensive building in Gothic times," between 1257 and about 1285); the woodwork from the house at Abbeville "for a long while known as the House of Francis I, although it was probably built for a wealthy tanner in the reign of Francis' predecessor, Louis XII"; the tomb of Armengol VII, probably erected by Armengol X in the monastery of Sta. Maria de Bellpuig de las Avellanas (which was founded by Armengol VII and his wife two centuries before); the Adoration group from Cerezo de Riotiron, illustrated by photographs of Mrs. A. Kingsley Porter showing the condition of these statues while they were still *in situ* (the group has been so placed at the Cloisters as to be seen from below, as at Cerezo); and the XIII century frescoes of the chapter house of the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza.

The commentaries on each of them are clear, short, extensively documented and strained by the author's sharp archeological and critical sense.

ASSIA R. VISSON



## R E V I E W O F R E V I E W S

THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE (November 1942). — OSKAR KOKOSCHKA. — *An approach to the Baroque Art of Czechoslovakia.* — Here is another sample of art criticism, or, in this case, to be precise, of an art historian's study by a painter. Had I not known that Oskar Kokoschka is one of the best contemporary painters of Central Europe, I would have guessed it by reading this article. I would even realize that, among these closely related, competitive people of the Danubian Slavic countries, his preference leans toward the Bohemians. "May the lesson", says he, "of the Baroque art in Czechoslovakia help us to understand the extraordinary fortitude of the ordinary people in Bohemia in the midst of inert, apathetic and slavish nations"; and this is a tribute to the ones which may seem rather undeserved to the others. But the lesson he gives

of Baroque art is excellent. Much of what is advanced here may and should be discussed at length, as for instance, (page 264): "Baroque Art, a product of co-operation to which builder, sculptor, painter and musician contributed in equal measure, is so decidedly a universal human expression that its aesthetic formal elements were able to stretch out over the whole world and in no time to affect the local cultures everywhere so profoundly, that it is only with the Baroque Age that something came into being which can be called *international art*". It is exactly such an approach to art leading to such discussions (with no determined issue in front of those who discuss) that gives to our studies all their charm. And when the discussion is conducted by an artist, imperatively, as the artist always treats whatever he does — then the charm is greater and its appeal quite unique. — TANCRED BORENIUS.

— *The new Giotto panel.* — The fact that the intellectual activity in Britain has suffered no relaxation in spite of extremely hard war conditions, should be considered as one of the guarantees of the British survival. We cannot now consider any event within the frames of this activity without pointing out its political value. In one of our forthcoming issues we intend to sketch a panorama of the artistic life in England as it has evolved from the beginning of the war to the present day. Special attention may be given in the meantime to Giotto's *Pentecost* (fig. 1.) bequeathed to the National Gallery of London by the late Mrs. G. E. Coningham. The importance of this panel, which in 1840 was in Brighton in the collection of William Coningham, "great pioneer in the appreciation of the Primitives", is fully treated by Tancred Borenius. The panel belongs to the famous series which includes *The last supper*, *The Crucifixion* and *The Descent into Limbo* (Munich Alte Pinacothek), *The Adoration of the Magi* (Metropolitan Museum of Art) and *The Entombment* (Berenson Collection). It is the first painting by Giotto to enter the National Gallery of London. And it is also worth recalling that it was Mr. Coningham who, in 1848, gave to the same Gallery (one of the richest to-day in masterpieces of Italian art) its first two early Italian pictures (Nos. 215 and 216, *Wings of an altarpiece* by Lorenzo Monaco).

LITURGICAL ARTS, A quarterly devoted to the arts of the Catholic Church. (May 1942). — In this issue of the

quarterly published by the Liturgical Arts Society, a composite article deals with *A competition for a statue of Christ, the Light of the world*, to be erected in front of the new headquarters building for the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington, D. C. The authors are members of the Society who have been connected with the competition. Most rightly, JOSEPH SANFORD SHANLEY, president, THE REVEREND JOHN LA FARGE, S.J., Chaplain, and the others deal with the problem of new works of creative art, which is especially delicate when these works are related to such aims and, placed in so prominent a place, are to be viewed by the crowds whose taste should be cultivated. In the same issue BARRY BYRNE publishes a *Plan for a church* and explains his idea for the church within new conditions of modern life and architecture. Glancing through this issue, one is delighted to feel what a strongly creative and powerfully youthful period of its history, as revealed by the history of its arts, the United States is now living. This approach to the prospective masterpieces of American sculpture and architecture is rather similar to the creative enthusiasm and conscientiousness of the European Mediaeval builders. And this may perhaps be considered as one of the documents which the future scholars, when studying the art of the XX century, will seek in the archives of this century as eagerly as we ourselves explore the archives of St. Denis, Chartres, Notre-Dame or Sens.

ASSIA R. VISSON.

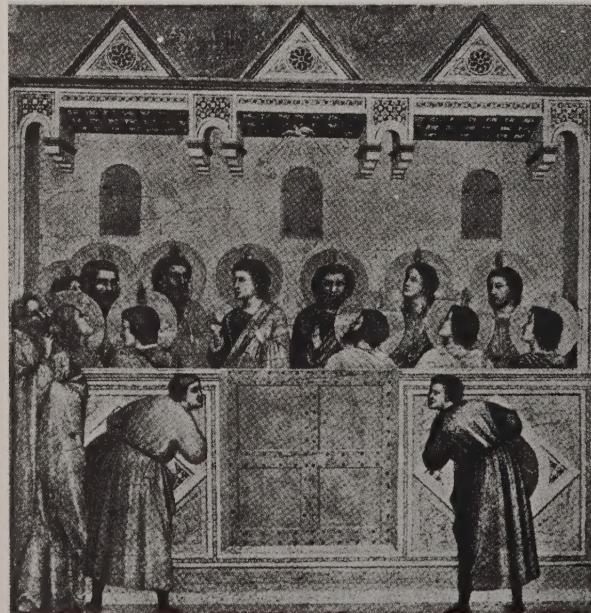


FIG. 1. — GIORTO. — The Pentecost. —  
National Gallery of Art, London.

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# NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

BENJAMIN ROWLAND JR., associate professor at the Department of Fine Arts of Harvard University, is now a lieutenant in the U. S. Naval Reserve. He is a graduate of Harvard University (1928) and received his doctor's degree at the same university in 1930. The subject of his thesis was used in the book he published in 1932: *Jaume Huguet*. Among his other publications are such works as: *The wall-painting of India, Central Asia and Ceylon*, Boston 1938; *Outline and bibliographies of Oriental Art*, Cambridge 1941; in the September 1936 issue of the "Art Bulletin" he published: *A revised chronology of Gandhara sculpture*; to the same field of study belongs his article on *St. Peter in Gandhara* . . . . . page 65

ALFRED SALMONY who writes in this issue on: *The find from Kopeny in the Yenisei Valley. A Siberian gold treasure of the migration period* . . . . . page 71  
 was assistant director of the Cologne Museum which he left in March 1933. During 1933 and 1934 he was associated with the Cernuschi and Citroën Museums in Paris. From 1934 to 1938 he was lecturer on Oriental Art at Mills College, and from 1938 at Washington (Ames professorship) and New York Universities and at Vassar College. His main field of study is Far Eastern Art and the art of the steppes' district in its relation to China and Europe. He was editor of "Artibus Asiae" and his principal published works are: *Die Chinesische Landschaftsmalerei*, Berlin 1920; *Die Chinesische Steinplastik*, Berlin 1922; *Asiatische Kunst* (with annotations by Paul Pelliot), Munich 1929; *Carved Jades of ancient China*, Berkeley 1938.

HANS TIETZE and MRS. E. TIETZE-CONRAT, working in collaboration, have completed two notable works in recent years: *The critical catalogue of the works of Albrecht Dürer*, (published in Augsburg and Basel between 1928 and 1937) and a *Catalogue of the Venetian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries* (ready for print). In this issue they publish: *The artist of the 1486 View of Venice* . . . . . page 83

RACHEL WISCHNITZER-BERNSTEIN, who presents *A new interpretation of Titian's "Sacred and profane love"* . . . . . page 89  
 has published in the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts" (1935) *Les manuscrits à miniatures de Maimonide*; in "The review of religion" (1941), *The Messianic Fox*; in the "Journal of Biblical Literature" (1941), *The Conception of the Resurrection in the Ezekiel panel of the Dura Synagogue*. She studied at the Count Zuboff Institute of Fine Arts in Leningrad, and is a graduate of the Paris School of Architecture. She holds a research fellowship of the American Academy for Jewish Research, in the "Proceedings" of which (1941) appeared her study on *The Samuel Cycle in the wall decoration of the Synagogue at Dura-Europos*.

GEORGE HEARD HAMILTON's article on *Eugene Delacroix and Lord Byron* . . . . . page 99  
 is an extract from a dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Yale University. He is instructor in the history of art at Yale University, curator of the Edwin Austin Abbey Collection, curator of modern art at the Yale University Art Gallery and research associate in Renaissance and modern art at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; he was editor of the *Handbook of the Walters Art Gallery* and has published: *De Arte Illuminandi, the Technique of Manuscript Illumination* (with D. V. Thompson), (1933).

EUGENE DE SAVITSCH, M.D., is a widely-known surgeon and author of *In search of complications, a doctor's autobiography*, New York 1940; the acquisition of a collection of ancient Russian art, unique in this country, has turned his interest toward the study of art and led to the endeavour of this scholar in the field of art and archaeology, this article on *Religious amulets of early Russian Christendom* . . . . . page 111

J. LEROY DAVIDSON and JULIUS S. HELD publish here: *A Rubens problem* . . . . . page 117  
 J. LeRoy Davidson is assistant director in charge of the permanent collection and special exhibitions at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis. He received his training at Harvard College and took most of his graduate work at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and also at Mills College, Columbia University, the University of Michigan, and the Paris Institute of Art and Archaeology. A specialist in the field of Far Eastern art, he was associate editor of the "Harper's Encyclopedia of Art".—Julius S. Held was research assistant at the State Museums of Berlin from 1931 to 1933. In 1935 he received a grant in aid from the Carnegie Corporation and was later successively lecturer at New York and Columbia Universities, and Carnegie lecturer at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa. He has now in preparation two volumes: *Rubens' paintings in America* and *Oeuvre raisonné of Jacob Jordaens*.

The NOTES ON PRINTS section is devoted in this issue to: *A lithograph by Paul Cézanne: "The small bathers"* by JEAN GORIANY . . . . . page 123

BIBLIOGRAPHY in this issue is by ROBERT C. SMITH, director of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., MRS. ELIZABETH PIERCE-BLEGEN and ASSIA R. VISSON . . page 125

REVIEW OF REVIEWS . . . . . page 127  
 is by ASSIA R. VISSON, a graduate of the Sorbonne and the Paris Institute of Arts and Archaeology, whose field of special study is folk art and Russian icons.